Library of Princeton
APR 12 1890
Theological Seminary
Division BS1197
Section J83A23
No 1889
v. 1

BOHN'S STANDARD LIBRARY.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

THE WORKS OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WHISTON'S TRANSLATION,

REVISED BY THE

REV. A. R. SHILLETO, M.A.

Sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge,
Translator of Plutarch's Morals, Ethical Essays.

WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.M.G.

VOL. I.

LIFE OF JOSEPHUS.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, BOOKS I-VI.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

1889.

CHISWICK PRESS : C. WHITTINGHAM AND CO., TOOKS COURT,
CHANCERY LANE.

PREFACE.

THESE three volumes, comprising the "Life" and "Antiquities," form the first instalment of a revision of Whiston's well-known translation of Josephus, which first saw the light in 1736, and has since that time retained the field, not so much from its intrinsic merit, as from the fact that the magnitude of the work, and the want of a good critical edition of Josephus' Greek Text, has deterred scholars from the Atlantean labour of a new translation.

In my revision there is, indeed, not much of Whiston left, though I have retained him where practicable. In revising him, I have amended his baldness, pruned and curtailed his archaisms, corrected his misspelling of names and mistranslations, and generally speaking been throughout close to the text where he has been turgid and paraphrastic. There are also frequently short omissions in Whiston's translation. These I have restored.

With regard to Whiston's Notes, some I have retained, some curtailed, some erased. Those I have omitted have been omitted on the following grounds. Many of them are puerile, many irrelevant, some based upon a less pure Greek text, some obtruding Whiston's very strange and erratic notions on religion, some absolutely incorrect. I have added a *W* to all the Notes of Whiston which I have retained. The few critical Notes are my own.

Sir C. W. Wilson, one of the heroes of Khartoum, and well known earlier as one of the pioneers of Palestine Exploration, is responsible for the Geographical and Topographical Notes.

Josephus and his works are so well known, and so deservedly popular, that there is no need here to say any-

thing about him or them. But one word is due as to the text which I have used in this revision. Neither the edition of Niese, nor the first instalment of that of Naber in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, appeared in time for me to make any use of them. I have translated from the edition of Dindorf, in the Didot collection of editions of Classical works, Paris, 1865.

With these few words I commend my revision of Whiston to the theological and general reader. These three volumes will at no distant date be followed by two more, which will contain "The Jewish War," and "Josephus on the Antiquity of the Jews against Apion."

CAMBRIDGE,
September, 1889.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS 1

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

PREFACE 67

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE YEARS.—FROM THE CREATION TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

Chap. I. The Constitution of the World, and the Disposition of the Elements 71

Chap. II. Concerning the Posterity of Adam, and the Ten Generations from him to the Deluge . . . 75

Chap. III. Concerning the Flood, and how Noah was saved in an Ark, with his Kindred, and afterwards dwelt in the Plain of Shinar 78

Chap. IV. Concerning the Tower of Babylon, and the Confusion of Tongues 83

Chap. V. How the Posterity of Noah colonized the whole Earth 85

Chap. VI. How every Nation was named after its First Settlers 86

Chap. VII. How Abraham our Forefather went out of the Land of the Chaldæans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, but now Judæa 91

Chap. VIII. How, when there was a Famine in Canaan, Abraham went thence into Egypt, and after he had continued there some time, returned back again . 92

Chap. IX. The Reverse sustained by the Sodomites at the Hand of the Assyrians 94

Chap. X. How Abraham fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and rescued the Sodomites who were Prisoners, and recovered from the Assyrians the Prey they had taken 95

Chap. XI. How God overthrew the Nation of the Sodomites, being wroth against them for their Sins . . 98

PAGE

Chap. XII. Concerning Ishmael, the Son of Abraham; and his Posterity the Arabians 100
Chap. XIII. Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham 103
Chap. XIV. Concerning Sarah, Abraham's Wife, and how she ended her Days 106
Chap. XV. How the Nation of the Troglodytes sprang from Abraham's Marriage with Keturah . . . 106
Chap. XVI. How Isaac took Rebekah to Wife . . . 107
Chap. XVII. Concerning the Death of Abraham . . . 110
Chap. XVIII. Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, and their Birth and Bringing-up . . . 110
Chap. XIX. Concerning Jacob's Flight into Mesopotamia, by reason of the fear he was in of his Brother; and how he Married there, and had Twelve Sons, and returned to Canaan 113
Chap. XX. Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau . . 121
Chap. XXI. Concerning the Violation of Dinah's Chastity . 123
Chap. XXII. How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron . . 125

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

Chap. I. How Esau and Jacob, the Sons of Isaac, divided their Habitation; Esau possessing Idumæa, and Jacob Canaan 126
Chap. II. How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's Sons, was envied by his Brothers, when certain Dreams had foreshown his future Happiness . . . 127
Chap. III. How Joseph was sold by his Brothers into Egypt, by reason of their Hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his Brothers in his Power 129
Chap. IV. Concerning the remarkable Chastity of Joseph . 132
Chap. V. What befell Joseph in the Prison. . . . 136
Chap. VI. How Joseph, when he was became famous in Egypt, had his Brethren in Subjection . . 140
Chap. VII. The Removal of Joseph's Father, with all his Family, to him, on account of the Famine . 152
Chap. VIII. Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph . . . 155
Chap. IX. Concerning the Afflictions that befell the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years . . 157
Chap. X. How Moses Warred against the Ethiopians . . 163
Chap. XI. How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian . . 166

PAGE

Chap. XII. Concerning the Burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses 167
Chap. XIII. How Moses returned into Egypt to Pharoah . . 170
Chap. XIV. Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians 172
Chap. XV. How the Hebrews, led by Moses, left Egypt . . 176
Chap. XVI. How the Sea was divided asunder for the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them 179

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS.—FROM THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT, TO THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION.

Chap. I. How Moses, when he had brought the People out of Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered many Hardships on their Journey . 183
Chap. II. How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring Nations, made War with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great Part of their Army . . . 189
Chap. III. How Moses kindly received his Father-in-law, Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai . . . 193
Chap. IV. How Raguel suggested to Moses to set the People in Order, under Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, and how Moses complied in all things with his Father-in-law's Advice 194
Chap. V. How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and received Laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews 195
Chap. VI. Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the Wilderness for the honour of God, which seemed a sort of Temple 200
Chap. VII. Of the Vestments of the Priest, and of the High Priest; concerning the Priesthood of Aaron, with the Manner of the purifications and Sacrifices; also concerning the Festivals, and how each Day was ordered; with other Laws 206
Chap. VIII. Of the Priesthood of Aaron 212
Chap. IX. The Nature of our offering Sacrifices . . . 217
Chap. X. Concerning the Festivals; and how each Day of such Festival is to be observed 219
Chap. XI. Of the Purifications 222
Chap. XII Various Laws 225
Chap. XIII. How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and led the People to the Borders of the Canaanites . . 228

PAGE

Chap. XIV. How Moses sent some Spies to search out the Land of the Canaanites, and the Largeness of their Cities; and how when those who were sent returned after forty Days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were troubled, and fell into despair, and resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians 230

Chap. XV. How Moses was displeased at their conduct, and foretold, that God was angry, and that they should continue in the Wilderness for forty Years, and should not, during that time, either return to Egypt, or take possession of Canaan . . 232

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS.—FROM THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

Chap. I. The Fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the Consent of Moses, and their Defeat . 234

Chap. II. The Rebellion of Corah, and of the Multitude, against Moses and Aaron, concerning the Priesthood 236

Chap. III. How those that stirred up this Rebellion were destroyed by the Will of God: and how Aaron, Moses' Brother, and his Posterity, retained the Priesthood 240

Chap. IV. What happened to the Hebrews during Thirty-eight Years in the Wilderness 244

Chap. V. How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole Army, and then divided their Land by lot to two Tribes and a half of the Hebrews 249

Chap. VI. Concerning Balaam the Prophet, and what kind of a Man he was 252

Chap. VII. How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them 261

Chap. VIII. The Polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among Mankind 264

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF ELI.

PAGE

Chap. I. How Joshua, the Commander of the Hebrews, made War with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their Land by Lot among the Tribes of Israel 288

Chap. II. How, after the Death of Joshua their Commander, the Israelites transgressed the Laws of their Country, and experienced great afflictions; and how, when there was a Sedition, all the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, except six hundred men 307

Chap. III. How the Israelites after this Misfortune grew wicked, and served the Assyrians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them forty Years 316

Chap. IV. How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Ehud, who ruled over the People eighty Years . 318

Chap. V. How the Canaanites brought the Israelites into Servitude for Twenty Years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty Years 320

Chap. VI. How the Midianites and other Nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and afflicted their Country for seven Years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the People . 322

Chap. VII. How the Judges who succeeded Gideon, warred with the adjoining Nations for a long Time . . . 326

Chap. VIII. Concerning the Bravery of Samson, and what Mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines . . . 332

Chap. IX. How, under Eli's Government of the Israelites, Boaz married Ruth, from whom came Obed, the Grandfather of David 339

Chap. X. Concerning the Birth of Samuel, and how he foretold the Calamity that befell the Sons of Eli . 342

Chap. XI. Wherein is declared what befell the Sons of Eli, the Ark, and the People; and how Eli himself died miserably 344

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

PAGE

Chap. I. The Destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their Land, from the Wrath of God, on account of their having carried the Ark away captive; and how they sent it back to the Hebrews 346

Chap. II. The Expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Hebrews' Victory under Samuel the Prophet, who was their General 350

Chap. III. How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old Age, that he could not take care of Public Affairs, intrusted them to his Sons; and how, upon the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they demanded a King to reign over them, although Samuel was much displeased thereat 353

Chap. IV. The Appointment of a King over the Israelites, whose name was Saul, at the Command of God . 356

Chap. V. Saul's Expedition against the Nation of the Ammonites, his Victory over them, and the Spoil he took from them 360

Chap. VI. How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten by them . . 365

Chap. VII. Saul's War with the Amalekites, and Conquest of them 371

Chap. VIII. How, upon Saul's Transgressing of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel anointed privately another Person to be King, whose name was David, as God commanded him 376

Chap. IX. How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, in the Reign of Saul, and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in single Combat 379

Chap. X. Saul envies David for his glorious Success, and takes an Occasion of entrapping him, from the Promise he made him of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, on Condition of his bringing six hundred Heads of the Philistines 383

Chap. XI. How David, upon Saul's laying Snares for him, escaped the Danger he was in, by the Affection and Care of Jonathan, and the Contrivance of his Wife Michal: and how he went to Samuel the Prophet 385

Chap. XII. How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterwards to the Kings of the Philistines and Moabites, and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his Family . . . 392

PAGE

Chap. XIII. How David, when he had twice the Opportunity of killing Saul, did not kill him. Also, concerning the Deaths of Samuel and Nabal 397

Chap. XIV. How Saul, on God's not answering him concerning the Fight with the Philistines, asked the Witch of Endor to bring up the Soul of Samuel to him; and how Saul died with his Sons on the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle 407

THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

§ 1.

MY family is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so, with us, to be of priestly extraction is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from priests, but also from the first of the twenty-four [1] courses; and as among us there is considerable difference here too, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the sons of Asamonæus, from whom she descended, were both high priests and kings for a very long time. I will give the pedigree. My great-grandfather was named Simon, with the surname of Psellus: he lived at the same time as that son of Simon the high priest, who, first of all the high priests, was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called the son of Ephlias; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, the first of the sons of Asa-

[1] We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the second book against Apion, § 7, 8 (for the Greek is there lost), which says there were then only four tribes or courses of the priests, instead of twenty-four. Nor is this testimony to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here; because even the account there given better agrees to twenty-four than to four courses, while he says that each of these courses contained above 5,000 men, which, multiplied by only four, will make not more than 20,000 priests; whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by twenty-four, seems much the most probable, they being about one-tenth of the whole people, even after the captivity. See Ezra ii. 36-39. Neh. vii. 39-42. 1 Esd. v. 24, 25, with Ezra ii. 64. Neh. vii. 66. 1 Esd. v. 41. Nor will this common reading or notion of but four courses of priests, agree with Josephus's own farther assertion elsewhere, Antiq. vii. 14, § 7, that David's partition of the priests into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.—W.

monæus who was high priest, and the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, born in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus; his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; and I was born to the first Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, Justus in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth. Thus have I set down our pedigree as I found it entered[1] in the public records, and so farewell to those who try to run me down as of low extraction!

§ 2. Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his noble birth, but was still more esteemed for his uprightness, and was held in the highest reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias (my own brother by both father and mother); and I made mighty proficiency in learning, and appeared to have both a good memory and good understanding. Even as a boy at about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came frequently to me to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: the first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes, as I have frequently said in my other works; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once intimately acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and hard labour, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one whose name was Banus, lived in the desert, who used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity,

[1] An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Cont. Ap. i. 7.—W.

I became a follower of him. And having continued with him three years,[1] and accomplished my purpose, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to live in strict accordance with the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is very similar to what the Greeks call the Stoic school.

§ 3. But when I was twenty-six, it happened that I went up to Rome, on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judæa, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, very excellent persons, whom on a small and trifling charge he had put in irons, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, especially as I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts.[2] And I arrived at Rome, after great peril by sea; for, as our ship went down in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number,[3] swam for our lives all that night; and at daybreak, upon our sighting, by God's providence,

[1] When Josephus here says, that from sixteen to nineteen, or for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and yet says presently, in all our copies, that he stayed besides with one particular ascetic, called Banus, *παρ' ἀυτῷ, with him*, and that before he was nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of three other sects. I suppose, therefore, that for *παρ ἀυτῷ, with him*, the old reading might be *παρ' αὐτοῖς, with them:* which is a very small emendation, and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's conjecture, hinted at by Mr. Hall in his preface to the doctor's edition of Josephus, at all improbable, that this Banus, by this his description, might well be a follower of John the Baptist, and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions, as afterwards prepared him to have a favourable opinion about Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.—W.

[2] We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were sometimes ascetics also, and, like Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan. i. 8-16, ate no flesh, but *figs and nuts*, &c., only. This was like the *ξηροφαγία*, or austere diets, of the Christian ascetics in passion-week. Constit. v. 18.—W.

[3] It has been thought the number of St. Paul and his companions on ship board, Acts xxvii. 38, which are 276 in our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after the other, were about 600.—W. For several close coincidences between the voyages of Josephus and St. Paul, see Blunt's "Undesigned Coincidences," § 22.

a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, got the start of the rest, and were taken on board. And having thus got safe to Dicæarchia,[1] which the Italians call Puteoli, I became intimate with Aliturus, an actor much beloved by Nero, and a Jew by race, and through his interest became known to Poppæa, Nero's wife, and speedily effected through her influence the liberation of the priests. And having obtained many presents from Poppæa besides this favour, I returned home again.

§ 4. And now I perceived that we were on the eve of revolution, and that many were very elated at the idea of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and to persuade them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to risk bringing the most terrible woes upon their country, their families, and themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them, for the madness of desperate men carried the day.

§ 5. I was then afraid that, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and suspicion, as if I were of the enemy's party, and should run risk of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia,[2] which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner part of the temple. But I stole out of the temple again, after Manahem and the leaders of the band of robbers were put to death, and abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us now that we saw the people in arms, for we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the revolutionary party. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be

[1] Now *Pozzuoli*, near *Naples*. See Antiq. xvii. § 1; Jewish War, ii. 7, § 1.

[2] The Castle of Antonia, built by Herod the Great, was near the north cloister of the Temple.

quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that it would not be long ere Gessius came up with a great force, and so put an end to these revolutionary proceedings.

§ 6. But upon his coming up and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this reverse of Gessius became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that advocated the war were so elated with this success, that they had hopes of eventually conquering the Romans. There was also another pretext for the war: those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria[1] seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least cause of complaint against them: for they had neither thought of revolting from the Romans, nor had they shown the slightest sign of hatred or treacherous design towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis[2] was the most impious and highly criminal of all;[3] for, when hostile Jews attacked them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do:[4] and when by their assistance they had joined battle with those that attacked them, and had beaten them, they forgot after the victory the assurances they had given these their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many myriads. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were inhabitants of

[1] The cities of Syria, so called because they were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Syria, were inhabited by a mixed population, chiefly Greek; some of them were made free cities by Pompey, and others enjoyed certain rights and immunities.

[2] The Greek name of Bethshean, now *Beisân*. In Jewish War, iii. 9, § 7, it is called the largest town in Decapolis. The extensive ruins lie on a terrace above Jordan, at the lower end of the Valley of Jezreel.

[3] See Jewish War, ii. 18, § 3.—W. Where the "many myriads" here becomes "upwards of 13,000."

[4] The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren from that law of Moses, Lev. xix. 16: "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour;" and that, ver. 17: "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" as well as from many other places in the Pentateuch and Prophets. See Antiq. viii. 8, § 3. —W.

Damascus. But I have given a more accurate account of these things in my books on the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the war of the Jews with the Romans was not so much choice as necessity.

§ 7. Now when Gessius had been beaten, as I have already said, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and revolutionary party had arms in great plenty, and fearing that they, being unprovided with arms, would be in subjection to their enemies, as actually came to pass afterwards; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were excellent persons, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill-advised men there to lay down their arms, and to prove to them, that it were best to keep those arms in reserve for the most courageous men that the nation had, for that it had been resolved, that while they should always keep their arms ready against any emergency, they should yet wait to see what the Romans would do.

§ 8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I went into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris [1] in no small anxiety about their town, because the Galilæans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand to, and made a league with, Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius in Dora,[2] which is a city of Phœnicia, as often as they pleased. But I found that the inhabitants of Tiberias [3] had already taken up arms, and that on the following account.

§ 9. There were three factions in Tiberias. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his com-

[1] Now *Sefûrieh*, a town of Galilee, afterwards called Diocæsarea.

[2] Now *Tantûra*, on the sea coast south of Carmel; the Dor of Joshua xi. 2, &c.

[3] *Tubarîyeh*, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee.

panions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus (for as to Compsus' brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king [1] [Agrippa], he was beyond the Jordan on his own estate); all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should still continue in its allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution, for by nature he had a touch of the mad. The second faction was composed of the most obscure persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of revolution, supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, "that Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered the town of Sepphoris to be subordinate to it, nor had they lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it, until Felix was procurator of Judæa. But now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present of by Nero to Agrippa junior; and that upon Sepphoris' submission to the Romans, it had become the capital of Galilee, and the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken this, and a great deal more against Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to revolt, he added, that "now was the time for them to take up arms, and join with the Galilæans as their confederates (whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bore to the people of Sepphoris, because they had preserved their fidelity to the Romans), and to gather together a great force in order to punish them." By this speech he swayed the multitude, for his abilities lay in making harangues to the people, and in gaining the victory by his speeches over such as opposed him, though

[1] That this Herod Agrippa, the father, was of old called a "Great King" as here, appears by his coins still remaining; to which Havercamp refers us.—W.

their advice was better, by his juggling and craft. For he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks, and in dependence on that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, intending by his narrative to subvert the truth. But as to this man, and his bad character and conduct in life, and how he and his brother were, in a great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the course of my narrative. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed upon the citizens of Tiberias to take up arms,—nay, had even forced a great many to do so against their will, he went out with all of them, and set the villages of Gadara [1] and Hippos [2] on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

§ 10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala [3] its affairs were thus. When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elated at the idea of revolting from the Romans, he tried to restrain them, and entreated them to keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, in spite of all his endeavours, for the neighbouring people of Gadara, Gabara,[4] Sogane,[5] and Tyre,[6] got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took it by storm, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely razed it to the ground they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people before mentioned, and rebuilt Gischala stronger than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

§ 11. But Gamala [7] adhered to its allegiance to the Romans, for the following reason. Philip the son of Jacimus, who was prefect under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been be-

[1] A town of Decapolis, now *Umm Keis*, on the heights above the valley of the *Yarmûk*, east of Jordan.

[2] Now *Sûsiyeh*, on the plateau east of the Sea of Galilee, and not far from Gamala; it was the centre of a district called Hippene.

[3] A town of Upper Galilee, now the village *el-Jish*, in the *Safed* district.

[4] One of the largest towns in Galilee; Life, 25; now *Kh. Kâbra*.

[5] Now *Sukhnîn*. [6] Now *Sûr*.

[7] Now *Kul'at el-Husn*, to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and nearly opposite Tiberias.

sieged; but as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was of being killed by Manahem and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip stayed there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with false hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages in his jurisdiction that lay near the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of his men, and commanded them to come to him. But the deity hindered his intention, and that for his own advantage, for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him suddenly, he wrote letters to Agrippa and Berenice, and gave them to one of his freedmen to carry to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which office the king and his sister had entrusted him with, as they had gone to Berytus [1] with the intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging them; and said, that he spoke falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting with the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when the freedman of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what was the reason, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cæsarea,[2] and had great expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he would himself get the kingdom, being descended from kings. For Varus was, by the confession of all, of royal race, as being a descendant

[1] Now *Beirût*.

[2] The Cæsarea mentioned here is Cæsarea Philippi, or Paneas, now *Bâniâs*, at one of the sources of the Jordan.

of Sohemus, who had been tetrarch near Mount Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived, also, that the king should not get any letters from Philip, by guarding all the passes, lest anyone should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cæsarea. He intended also to join with the Trachonites in Batanæa,[1] and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana,[2] for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the most influential Jews of Cæsarea, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard, that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing it, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to credit those who raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make their defence on the charge brought against them. So when the twelve got to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no revolutionary ideas at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy, who not at all suspecting what would happen to them, sent them accordingly. So they went down to Cæsarea with the twelve ambassadors, where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, ambassadors and all, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one of the seventy escaped, and stole a march on Varus and informed the Jews of his coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and many myriads of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of this, he also went to the citadel of Gamala;[3]

[1] One of the four districts into which the ancient Bashan was divided; the others being Trachonitis (*el-Lejah*), Auranitis (*Haurân*), and Gaulonitis (*Jaulân*). Its name is still preserved in *el-Butein* and *Ard el-Bathanyeh.*

[2] The context shows that Ecbatana is used here for Batanæa; the Babylonian Jews appear to have lived in Batanæan villages not far from Gamala, *Kul'at el-Husn.*

[3] *Kul'at el-Husn.*

and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to lead them against Varus and the Syrians of Cæsarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But when the king got to learn of Varus's design to cut off the Jews of Cæsarea, being many myriads, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Æquus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as I have elsewhere related. So Philip kept the citadel of Gamala and the adjacent country in its allegiance to the Romans.

§ 12. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things from the information of such as told me, I wrote to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem about it, and asked their direction what I should do. They begged me to stay there with my colleagues if they were willing, and to look after the condition of Galilee. But my colleagues, having got great riches from those tithes which were their dues as priests, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay till we could settle affairs, they complied with me. So I removed with them from the city of Sepphoris,[1] and came to a certain village called Bethmaus,[2] four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the council of Tiberias, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me; and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as an envoy, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws had forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired, that they would give us leave to do so immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal

[1] *Sefûrieh.*

[2] The same place as the Emmaus of Antiq. xviii. 2, § 3, and Jewish War, iv. 1, § 3; famous for its hot springs. It is probably the Hammath of Josh. xix. 35; and is now *Hammâm Tubarîyeh*, close to Tiberias.

men of the city would not give us leave, but were at length induced to assent to our wishes. But Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom I have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious rising of sailors and poor people, anticipated us, and took with him certain Galilæans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs were gilt. They also plundered a great deal without our approbation; for, after we had conversed with Capellus, and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

§ 13. When I heard of this, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could to recover all that could be recovered of the royal furniture from such as had plundered it. It consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass; and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the council, and Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody but myself. From thence I and my colleagues went to Gischala[1] to John, being desirous to know his intentions, and I soon saw that he was for revolution, and had a mind to the chief power; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off the corn which belonged to Cæsar, and was stored in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he was aiming at, and what he had in view, I said I would not permit him to do so. For I thought either to keep it for the Romans, or for myself, now I was intrusted with the management of affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my colleagues, who had no sagacity in reading the future, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them

[1] *el-Jish.*

with money, to decree that all the corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; and I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and had to acquiesce. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance. He said, that those Jews who inhabited Cæsarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure to use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of Greek oil, and thereby transgress their laws. Now this was said by John, not out of regard to religion, but out of the most flagrant desire of gain: for he knew that two pints of oil were sold at Cæsarea for one drachma, but that at Gischala fourscore pints were sold for four drachmæ. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as if he had my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. As I therefore yielded the point, John gained vast sums of money by this knavery.

§ 14. But when I had dismissed my colleagues, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to get arms provided, and the cities fortified. And, when I had sent for the boldest of the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little money willingly, rather than to see their goods plundered. And when I had obliged the robbers to take an oath not to come into our country, unless they were invited, or when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to war against the Romans, nor against their neighbours: for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. And as I wished to have the principal Galilæans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity under the pretext of friendship, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes: and it was with their approbation that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to deviate from justice through over haste, and to keep my hands clean from all bribes.

§ 15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for anyone to escape the calumnies of envy, although he restrain himself from any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I respect the chastity of every woman, and, as to the presents which were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians who inhabited the cities that were adjacent to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent it to my kindred at Jerusalem; although when I twice took Sepphoris[1] by storm, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara[2] once, and when I had got John in my power, who had often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not revenge myself upon either him or any of the people beforenamed, as the course of my narrative will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God,[3] who never forgets those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of their hands, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

§ 16. Now the mass of the Galilæans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by storm, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were anxious for my safety. And when John saw this, he was moved with envy, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths of Tiberias for the recovery of his health. And I did not forbid him, having no suspicion of any wicked design on his part, and I wrote expressly to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias to provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and to procure him a plen-

[1] *Sefûrieh.* [2] *Umm Keis.*

[3] Our Josephus shows, both here and everywhere, that he was a most religious person, and one that had a deep sense of God and his providence upon his mind, and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations in times of danger, to God's blessing him; and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren.—W.

tiful supply of whatever he stood in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is called Cana[1]

§ 17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded its inhabitants to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to attach themselves to him; and many of them gladly received the invitation of his, as ever fond of revolutions, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions: but Justus and his father Pistus were chiefly earnest in their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I was too quick for them, and anticipated them: for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and told me of the purpose of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither; for if I made any delay, the city would soon be in the power of others. Upon receipt of this letter of Silas', I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having sent on a messenger, to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me, and John with them, who saluted me, but in a very confused manner, as if afraid that my coming was to call him to account for what I was now aware he was doing. So he went in great haste to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and, standing on a high wall, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their fidelity would be to their reproach, and they would be justly suspected by those that should be their masters hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them either.

§ 18. But, before I had spoken all I intended, I heard one of my own followers bidding me come down; for that it was not the time to be anxious about retaining the good-

[1] There is nothing to indicate which of the Canas is alluded to here; it may either be *Kâna el-Jelîl*, north of Sepphoris, or the well-known *Kefr Kenna*, on the road from Nazareth to Tiberias; the former is most probable.

will of the people of Tiberias, but about my own safety, and how to escape my enemies there; for John had sent the most trusty of those thousand armed men that he had with him, and had given them orders to kill me, having learned that I was alone, except for a few personal followers. So those that were sent came as they were ordered, and would have done their work, had I not leaped down from the wall I stood on, with one of my guards, whose name was James, and been hoisted upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped, greatly to the surprise of my enemies, and got to Tarichææ.[1]

§ 19. Now when the inhabitants of that city heard of the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galilæans, and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and besought them to muster in large numbers and come to them, that they might act as the general thought fit. Accordingly, the Galilæans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by storm, and to lay it even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those of my friends also who had escaped out of Tiberias gave me the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war, for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed further than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do this, the Romans wishing for nothing better than that we should destroy one another by our mutual factions. And by saying this I put a stop to the anger of the Galilæans.

§ 20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were with him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concern-

[1] Now, apparently, the ruins of *Kerak*, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee, at the point where the Jordan leaves the lake.

ing what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in what he wrote to me.

§ 21. But now another large body of the Galilæans mustered from all the district again with their weapons, knowing how wicked and how perjured the man was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I confessed, that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galilæans to let me do so, I went to Sepphoris.

§ 22. But the inhabitants of that city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and being afraid of my coming to them, tried to divert me by another transaction, that they might be freed from the terror[1] they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were on the borders of Ptolemais,[1] and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly, he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took with him his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not his knavery succeed well at last; for, as he was already near, one of those with him deserted, and came to me, and told me of his intention. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, pre-

[1] Ptolemais, or Ace (Antiq. ix. 14, § 2), afterwards so celebrated as St. Jean d'Acre. It is now *'Akka*.

tending to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galilæans that were armed, as also some from Tiberias: and when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they tried to force themselves in, to smite them. Accordingly, those that had received orders did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few of his men; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him that if he refused to do so he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was frightened and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they heard of his arrest, they fled. I then called Jesus apart, and told him, that "I was not a stranger to his treacherous design against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he had been sent, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And upon his promising to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to muster his followers together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that if they would not leave off their unfair treatment of me, I would punish them.

§ 23. At this time two great men who were under the jurisdiction of king Agrippa, came to me out of the region of Trachonitis,[1] bringing their horses, and carrying with them their arms and money. As the Jews wanted to force them to be circumcised, if they wished to stay among them, I would not permit them to have force put upon them,[2] but said, "Every one ought to worship God according to his principles and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And

[1] Now *el-Lejah*, a broken volcanic district to the south of Damascus.

[2] Josephus's opinion is here well worth noting,—that every one is to be permitted to worship God according to his own conscience, and is not to be compelled in matters of religion: as one may here observe on the contrary, that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those who married Jews to be circumcised, and become Jews, and were ready to destroy all that would not submit so to do. See § 31, and Luke ix. 54.—W.

when I had persuaded the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatever they wanted, according to their usual way of living, in great plenty.

§ 24. Meantime king Agrippa sent a force under the command of Æquus Modius to make itself master of the citadel of Gamala,[1] but the force that was sent was not large enough to invest it, but lay before it in the open country, and besieged it. But when Æbutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the charge of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias,[2] a village lying on the borders of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horse that were with him, and about two hundred foot, by night, and brought the inhabitants of the city of Gaba[3] with him as auxiliaries, and marched by night to the village where I abode. And when I drew up my large force in battle array, Æbutius tried to entice us to the plain, as greatly depending on his horse, but we would not come down; for as I saw at once the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, as we were all foot, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Æbutius and his men made a stout fight for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him on that ground, he retired to Gaba, without having effected his object, and having lost three of his men in the fight. I followed him closely with two thousand armed men: and when I got to the city Besara,[4] that lay on the borders of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gaba, where Æbutius was, I placed my armed men outside the village, and gave orders that they should guard the roads with great care, that the enemy should not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there, which belonged to Berenice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done

[1] *Kul'at el-Husn.*

[2] Now *Semûnieh* on the hills north of Esdraelon, called by Josephus "the great plain."

[3] Now *Jebâta*, see Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1, and iii. 3, § 1.

[4] Site unknown.

this, I offered Æbutius battle; but as he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I marched against Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was being plundered by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had had Scythopolis[1] intrusted to his care by the enemy: and when I had hindered him from ravaging Tiberias any further, I began to see to the affairs of Galilee.

§ 25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as I said, was at Gischala,[2] heard how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was in favour with those who were under me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he launched out into bitter envy against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to my good fortune, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris (as for those of Gabara[3] he supposed they would be of the same mind with the others,) and these three were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to join his party; and he told them, that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris (who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans) they did not listen to him, and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to revolt from me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara went over to John; for Simon, a leading man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John, persuaded them so to do. It is true, the men of Gabara did not openly own their revolt (because they were in great fear of the Galilæans, having had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me) yet did they privately watch for a good opportunity to lay snares for me, and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the following occasion.

§ 26. There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritta,[4] who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the

[1] *Beisân.* [2] *el-Jish.* [3] *Kh. Kâbra.*

[4] The Daberath of Josh. xix. 12, &c.; now *Debûrieh*, at the foot of Mount Tabor.

king's procurator, was journeying over the great plain with a large retinue, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard, from a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to flee, and plundered all the baggage. They also came to me to Tarichææ,[1] with four mules laden with garments and other articles; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy (who was my countryman, and it is prohibited us by our laws even to spoil our enemies), so I told those that brought those spoils, that they ought to be kept to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem by their sale. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of these spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, for I used deceitful language to them, when I said what had been thus got by rapine should be kept for rebuilding the walls of the city of Jerusalem, when I intended to restore these spoils again to their owner. And indeed they were not mistaken as to this my intention; for when they had gone away, I sent for two leading men, Dassion, and Jannæus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the articles that had been robbed, and to send them to him; and I threatened that I would have them put to death, by way of punishment, if they communicated my orders to any other person.

§ 27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with the rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and desirous to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichææ did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and urged my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to go quickly to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel with all men against me their commander. And, when they had pre-

[1] *Kerak.*

vailed with them, and they were got together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them to punishment. Now Jesus, the son of Sapphias, principally egged them on. He was chief magistrate at this time in Tiberias, and a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make great disturbances; he was indeed a seditious person, and an innovator beyond everybody else. He now took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow-citizens! if you cannot hate Josephus on your own account, have regard at any rate to those laws of your country, which your commander-in-chief is going to betray; hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who has acted with such presumption to his deserved punishment."

§ 28. When he had said this, and the multitude loudly applauded him, he took some armed men, and hasted to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately. But I was wholly insensible of all this till the disturbance happened, for I had fallen fast asleep from fatigue. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, seeing the violent rush the citizens made at me, awoke me, and told me of the danger I was in, and begged me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely, and like a general, before my enemies came in, and forced me [to kill myself], or themselves killed me. Thus did he speak to me, but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. And I put on a black garment, and hung my sword round my neck, and went by a different way to the hippodrome, so that I thought none of my adversaries would meet me: and I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears, and seemed to all persons an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was thus wrought in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my house: so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to have been, but I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept the money

arising from the plunder, and they might then kill me, if they pleased. And, upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came in, and when they saw me, they ran up to kill me: but when the multitude bade them stop, they complied, expecting that as soon as I should own to them that I had kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of treason, and they would then be allowed to kill me.

§ 29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spoke thus to them: "My countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth before I die; for as I knew that this city of yours was a city given to hospitality, and filled with abundance of men who have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Tarichææ and the foreigners cried out, that they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage. But the Galilæans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, as some threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them. But when I promised that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at the other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned everyone to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied by my friends and twenty armed men.

§ 30. But those robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account that I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When I was told of their approach, I thought it unseemly to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with resolution. So I gave orders to shut the doors of the house, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money [from the spoils]; for I told them that then they would have no occasion to be

angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, after having him dragged to the innermost part of the house, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung it about his neck, and thus thrust him out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they would themselves be served in like manner, if they stayed there (for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had); so they ran away immediately. Thus I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped their second treacherous design against me.

§ 31. But there were some that still irritated the multitude against me, and said that those royal grandees that came to me ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their habits to suit those to whom they fled for safety: they spoke reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were sorcerers, and prevented their getting the better of the Romans. And the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible arguments as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were persuaded by them. But when I was informed of this, I urged on the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted; I also laughed at the absurd allegation of sorcery, and told them that the Romans would not keep so many as ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by sorcery. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while, but they returned afterwards, being irritated by some bad people against the grandees. Nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichææ, in order to kill them; and when I was informed of that, I was afraid, if so horrid a crime should take effect, that nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore went with some others to the house where these grandees lived, and locked their doors, and had a canal cut from their house to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked thereon with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos.[1] I also paid them the value of their horses, for in such a flight I could not have their horses

[1] *Sûsiyeh.*

brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which had befallen them. I was also myself greatly grieved that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me for shelter to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it better that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at last, for king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned those men.

§ 32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to guard their country; for they were desirous to come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to construct for them walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichææ were already built. I agreed to the proposal accordingly, and when I had made all preparations for the building, I gave orders to the engineers to go to work. But on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichææ, which was thirty furlongs from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were sighted on the march not far from the city, which made it supposed that a force was come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me, and one came running up to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me. Upon hearing this news, I was very much alarmed: for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichææ to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichææ disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned in that city, I never took any particular care for a body-guard, because I had had frequent proofs of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me; and I had about me no more than seven armed men besides some friends, and so I was doubtful what to do. For I did not think proper to send to recall my own forces, because the day was almost over, and had these forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws

forbade us to do so, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichææ, and the strangers with them, to plunder the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to defer my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would get the start of me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I resolved, therefore, to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed at the gates of Tarichææ those friends of mine on whom I could best confide, to watch very carefully those who wished to pass out; I also called to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them to launch a ship, and go on board it, and take a pilot with them, and follow me to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men I have already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

§ 33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear for their city, and were greatly terrified, supposing that the ships were full of soldiers; so they changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former intentions, and besought me to spare the city. But when I was come near, I gave order to the pilots to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board. And I went near to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and for being so fickle as, without any just excuse, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them, that I would certainly forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men before mentioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Tarichææ, and ordered them to be kept in prison there.

§ 34. And by this stratagem I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to Tari-

chææ, with many of the principal men among the populace, and those not fewer in number than the others. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition. His name was Clitus, and he was a young man bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own countrymen to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own body-guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this was afraid to go alone among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the cowardice of the soldier should be made manifest to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest, if thou refusest so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And, when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. And he, to prevent the loss of both his hands, willingly took his sword, and cut off his left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

§ 35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I had gone to Tarichææ, discovered the stratagem I had used against them, and admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition without shedding of blood. And now I sent for some of the people of Tiberias out of prison (among whom were Justus and his father Pistus) and had them to sup with me; and during supper time I told them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but had kept silent about it because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would act with the moderation that I had done. I also reminded Justus how the Galilæans had cut off his brother's hands, before I came from Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him of having forged some letters before the war, as also how the people of Gamala, in a rising against the Babylonians after the departure of Philip, slew Chares (who was a kinsman of Philip), and also how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother, the

husband of Justus's sister. When I had said this to them during supper-time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be discharged.

§ 36. But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion. When Philip had been informed that Varus had been removed by king Agrippa, and that Modius Æquus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, had come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what various fortunes he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he had sent to the king and queen. Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly glad, knowing thereby that Philip was safe, and forwarded the letters to the king and queen, who were then at Berytus.[1] But when King Agrippa knew that the rumour about Philip was false, (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he was come, he saluted him in a very friendly way, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about that he had revolted from the Romans. He also bade him to take some horsemen with him, and go to the citadel of Gamala, and bring out thence all his household, and restore the Babylonians[2] to Batanæa again. He also charged him to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of any insurrection. And Philip, upon these directions from the king, made haste to do what he commanded him.

§ 37. Now, there was one Joseph, the son of a midwife, who stirred up a great many bold young men to join with him, and rose against the principal persons at Gamala, and urged them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should through him recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in their views, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him his kinsman Jesus, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as I have already said. They

[1] *Beirût.* [2] The Babylonian Jews; see p. 10.

also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I refuse either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis [1] did also revolt from the king, as far as the village of Solyma.[2] I also built walls about Selucia [3] and Sogana,[4] villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, in like manner, I walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names were Jamnia,[5] and Meroth,[6] and Achabare.[7] I also fortified, in Lower Galilee, the cities of Tarichææ, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages of the cave of Arbela,[8] Bersabe,[9] Selamin,[10] Jotapata,[11] Capharecco,[12] Sigo,[13] Japha,[14] and Mount Tabor.[15] I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms also, that might be for their security afterwards.

§ 38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, as he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gischala, which was his native place. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel,[16] to beg him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galilæans, and to give their votes for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city of Jerusalem, and of a very illustrious family, of the sect of the

[1] Now the district of *Jaulân*, east of Jordan. [2] Site unknown.
[3] A town on Lake Semechonitis, *Bahr el-Hûleh;* the site is unknown.
[4] *Sukhnîn.* [5] Site unknown. [6] *Meirôn*, near *Safed.*
[7] Now *'Akbara*, to the south-east of *Meirôn;* see B. J. ii. 20, § 6.
[8] Now *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee. [9] Site unknown.
[10] Now *Khurbet Selâmeh.* [11] Now *Jefât.*
[12] [13] Sites unknown.
[14] The Japhia of Josh. xix. 12; now *Yâfa*, south of Nazareth.
[15] Part of the fortifications on Mount Tabor may be those still remaining, and which were seen lately by Mr. Maundrel. See his Travels, p. 112.—W.
[16] This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the rabbins in the Mishna in Juchasin and in Porta Mosis, as is observed in the Latin notes. He might be also that Gamaliel II. whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned in Acts v. 34, and at whose feet St. Paul *was brought up.* Acts xxii. 3. See Prid. at the year 449.—W.

Pharisees, who are supposed to excel all others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and intelligence, and capable of restoring public affairs, when they were in an ill posture, by his sagacity. He was also an old friend and companion of John, but was at that time at variance with me. When therefore he had received this exhortation, he urged the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same party, to cut me short, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook my advancing to the height of glory; and he added, that it would be for their advantage if I were deprived of my government in Galilee. He desired Ananus also, and his friends, to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Ananus the high priest showed that it was no easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and added that it was the work of bad men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

§ 39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired those present to conceal the thing, and not to let it come abroad; for he would take care to have me removed from Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, and charged him to send presents to Ananus and his friends; for he said they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did thus at last compass what he aimed at; for Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me from Galilee, without any others of the citizens knowing what they were doing. Accordingly, they resolved to send men of distinction, both as to their families and learning. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan and Ananias, of the sect of the Pharisees, while the third, Jozarus, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also, and Simon, the last of them, was the youngest of the high priests. They were instructed, when they were come to the multitude of the Galilæans, to ask them, what was the reason of their love to me? And if they answered, that it was be-

cause I was born in Jerusalem, then they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; and if they should further say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of them were priests also.

§ 40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand pieces of silver out of the public treasury. And when they heard that there was a certain Galilæan that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had with him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months' pay, and orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and to be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred citizens to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors. And when they had complied, and got ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, taking along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men. The orders given them by those that sent them were, that if I should voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem, but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command so to do. They also wrote to John to make all things ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sephoris, and Gabara, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

§ 41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present at that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it), I was very much troubled, discovering thereby, that my fellow-citizens were so ungrateful to me, as out of envy to give orders that I should be slain; my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and said that in three days I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed, as they would be, if they were deprived of my command over them. But as I did

not grant their request, but provided for my own safety, the Galilæans, dreading that after my departure they would be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard of it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of affection to me than fear on their own account: for, while I stayed with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.[1]

§ 42. But wonderful was a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, being grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me that a certain person stood by me, and said, "Sir, leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very great and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt not only get over these difficulties, but many others, with great success. Be not therefore cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. But when the whole multitude of the Galilæans (and among them the women and children) saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away, and permit their country to be the sport of their foes. But as they did not persuade me by their entreaties, they tried to force me to take an oath that I would stay with them: they also cast abundant reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, because they would not let their country enjoy peace.

§ 43. When I heard this, and saw what dejection the people were in, I was moved with compassion, and thought it right to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude. So I let them know I would stay with them, and when I had given orders that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with their own provisions, I sent the rest away to their own homes. And

[1] The plain of *el-Buttauf*, northward from Nazareth.

when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, which is situated on the confines of Ptolemais. And there I kept my forces together, feigning to get ready to fight with Placidus, who had come with two cohorts of foot, and one troop of horse, having been sent there by Cestius Gallus, to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais.[1] And upon his casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from Chabolo.[2] And now we frequently brought out our forces as if for battle, but proceeded no further than skirmishes; for, when Placidus saw that I was earnest to come to battle, he was afraid, and declined it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

§ 44. It was about this time that Jonathan and his fellow-envoys came, who were sent, as I have said already, by Simon and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan laid a plot to catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following letter. "Jonathan and those that are with him, who are sent by the people of Jerusalem, send greeting to Josephus. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee for the future. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, as to what ought to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not hold a great number of soldiers." Thus they wrote, expecting one of two things, either that I should go to them without armed men, and then they would have me in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they would judge me to be a public enemy. Now a horseman brought the letter, an impudent man who had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night when he came, and I was feasting with my friends, and the leading Galilæans. This man, upon my

[1] *'Akka.*

[2] The Cabul of Josh. xix. 27; now *Kâbûl*, nine miles east of *'Akka.*

servant's telling me that a certain Jewish horseman was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out the letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem: do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am in a hurry to return to them." Now my guests wondered at the boldness of the soldier, but I asked him to sit down and sup with us; but as he refused to do so, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and conversed with my guests about other matters. But not long after I rose, and when I had dismissed the rest to their repose, I bade only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine. I also opened the letter, without anybody noticing it; and understanding thereby presently the intention of the writers, I sealed it up again, as if I had not read it, but only held it in my hands, and ordered twenty drachmæ to be given the soldier for the expenses of his journey; and when he took the money, and said he was obliged for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that bait, so I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." And he gladly embraced the proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and got so drunk, that he could no longer keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but blabbed out, without my putting questions to him, that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to death by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back the following answer. "Josephus sendeth greeting to Jonathan and those that are with him. I rejoice to hear that you are come into Galilee in good health, especially as I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country; which is what I have desired to do a long time. And I confess I ought, not only to come to you as far as Xaloth,[1] but further, and that without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do so now, since I am watching the motions of Placidus, who desires to go up into Galilee, here at Chabolo. Do

[1] The Chesulloth of Josh. xix. 18, and Chisloth-Tabor of Josh. xix. 12; now the village *Iksâl*.

you, therefore, on the receipt of this letter, come hither to me. Fare you well."

§ 45. When I had written this, and given the letter to the soldier to carry, I sent along with him thirty of the Galilæans of the best repute, and gave them instructions to salute the envoys, but to say nothing to them. I also attached as many armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, to watch, lest any conversation might pass between those whom I sent, and those that were with Jonathan. So these men set out. But, as Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, as follows. "Jonathan and those with him send greeting to Josephus. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth,[1] on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gischala."] When they had written this letter, and saluted the Galilæans whom I sent, they went to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and bade them be gone, and not grudge them an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they deigned to make no answer, but went to other villages. But similar clamours met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander than Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me: and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis,[2] the people of that place made a clamour against them, just as those of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with their clubs.

[1] The same as Gabara, Life, 25 and 46.

[2] Probably *Kefr Menda*, above the plain of *Buttauf*.

And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men. And as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I departed from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my most faithful friends, and went to Jotapata, being desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. And I wrote thus to them. "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and four cities and villages in Galilee: I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala; one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

§ 46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote to me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together, and taking John into their consultation, deliberated how they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that were at variance with me, and that these should be invited to come and oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galilæans, might themselves also vote the same. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galilæans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he said was very agreeable to the rest. I was made acquainted with this about the third hour of the night by one Sacchæus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about. So I perceived that no time was to be lost, but gave command to James, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred armed men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon all passers by, and send them to me, especially such as were taken with letters about them. I also sent Jeremiah himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led

from that country to the city of Jerusalem, and gave him charge to arrest such as travelled with letters about them, and to keep the men in bonds upon the spot, but to send me the letters.

§ 47. When I had laid these commands upon those I sent out, I gave the Galilæans orders and bid them to take their arms, and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day at Gabaroth. I also divided the armed men about me into four parts, and set those of them that were most faithful to me to be my body-guard. I also put over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier whom they did not know should mix himself among them. Now, about the fifth hour on the day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who according to my orders were come out of Galilee to assist me: a large multitude also from the villages accompanied them. And as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of their country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them, I also advised them to fight with nobody, and not to spoil the country, but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their provisions; for I told them I had a mind to settle these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, on the very same day, that those who were sent by John with letters fell into the hands of the guards whom I appointed to watch the roads, so the men were themselves kept upon the spot, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to march against those men, without saying a word of my intention to anybody.

§ 48. Now, as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large tower, and no way unlike a citadel. And they privately secreted a band of armed men there, and shut all the doors but one, which they kept open, and expected that I should come to them off my journey to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the

armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude all the others; supposing that by this means they should easily get me into their power: but they were deceived in their expectation. For I perceived what snares they had laid for me, and, as soon as I was come off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep. Then Jonathan and his party, thinking I was really asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was a sorry general. But matters proved other than they expected; for upon their appearance there was a cry made by the Galilæans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their general; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his party for coming to them, when they had suffered no harm, to upset their affairs; and advised them to go back again, for they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When this was reported to me, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went, therefore, myself down at once to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation from them, who confessed their thanks were owing to me for my leadership of them.

§ 49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were afraid for their own lives, lest they should be attacked by the Galilæans on my account; so they thought of flight. But as they were not able to get off (for I told them to stay) they looked with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restram their acclamations, and posted the most faithful of my armed men at the avenues, to be on the guard lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us; and I advised the Galilæans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden assault should be made upon them. Then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his party in mind of their letter, how they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the commonalty of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to go to them. And as I spoke

thus, I publicly showed the letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, "O Jonathan! and you that are his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you would have been forced, after the examination of their characters, to acquit me of the charges brought against me. That therefore you may know that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I give you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decorum and integrity among them. And I further conjure you, O Galilæans! to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, if I have in anything acted otherwise than well."

§ 50. While I was thus speaking, the voices of all the people united in calling me their benefactor and saviour. And they attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to act. And they all swore that their wives had been preserved from outrages, and that no one had ever been harmed by me. After this I read to the Galilæans two of the letters which had been sent me by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the roads had taken and sent on to me. They were full of reproaches and lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a general to them, and many other things besides were therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsehoods. I also informed the multitude that I got those letters, because those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know anything of the guards I had posted, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing any more.

§ 51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them, and would certainly have done so, had I not restrained the anger of the Galilæans, and said, that I forgave Jonathan

and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth as to my conduct. When I had said this, I dismissed them, although I knew they would do nothing of what they promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to induce them to spare the men; for I knew that every case of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude were too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. But when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs from Gabara. By using this stratagem, I so managed as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

§ 52. But when I was come near to Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards remedied; I also gave order, that a hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, to make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to remain in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested this to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them forth the third day after the assembly; I also sent five hundred armed men with them. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria,[1] to see to their safely passing through that country; for Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that wanted to go quickly to Jerusalem, to pass through that country; for by that road one may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also myself

[1] Samaria lay between Galilee and Judæa; its limits are defined in Jewish War, iii. 3, § 4.

conducted the envoys as far as the bounds of Galilee, and posted guards on the road, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had done this, I went and abode at Japha.

§ 53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed in accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala, and went themselves to the city of Tiberias, expecting it would submit to them. Their idea was founded on a letter which Jesus, its then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government. So they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left by me to look after Tiberias, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. And I complied with his advice quickly, and went there, but found myself in danger of my life, for the following reason. Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many who were at variance with me to revolt from me; but when they heard of my coming, they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me; for they said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens. They added further, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they stayed that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this, they swore to it with oaths such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else: because the next day was the sabbath, and it was not fit that the city of Tiberias should be disturbed by them on that day.

§ 54. As I suspected nothing, I went away to Tarichææ; yet did I leave some in the city to make inquiry whether anything was said about me. I also posted many persons all along the way that led from Tarichææ to Tiberias, that they might communicate to me by relays whatever they learned from those that were left in the city. Now the next

day they all assembled in the place of prayer,[1] a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; Jonathan went in too, and though he durst not openly speak of revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow-citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom," and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came forward, and commended him for what he had said, and induced some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and would certainly have gone in for a tumult, had not the sixth hour, which was now come, dissolved the assembly, as at that hour our laws require us to go to dinner on Sabbath days. So Jonathan and his party put off their council till the next day, and went off without effecting their ends. When I was informed of these things, I at once determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I went to Tiberias from Tarichææ, and found the multitude ready assembled in the place of prayer; but why they were assembled together those that were present did not know. But, when Jonathan and his colleagues unexpectedly saw me there, they were in great disorder, but they spread a report of their own invention that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Homonæa,[2] on the borders, thirty furlongs from the city. Upon this report Jonathan and his colleagues advised and exhorted me not to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under pretence of the pressing need of assistance, while they might make the city hostile to me.

§ 55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose that I was not

[1] It is worth noting here, that there was now a great proseucha, or place of prayer, in the city Tiberias itself, though such proseuchæ used to be out of cities, as the synagogues were within them.—W.

[2] Site unknown.

anxious about their security. I therefore went out, but when I was at the place, I found not the least footstep of an enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council and the mass of the people assembled, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one that cared not to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they talked thus, they produced four letters as if written to them from some people that lived on the borders of Galilee, imploring them to come to their assistance (for there was an army of Romans, both horse and foot, who would come and lay waste their country on the third day), and desiring them to make haste, and not to neglect them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spoke truth, and raised a clamour against me, and said, I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their fellow-countrymen. Hereupon I said (for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues) that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and promised without delay to march to the war, but advised them, at the same time, since those letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four different places, that they should divide their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues commanders of each body, for it was fit for brave men not only to give counsel, but to take their place as leaders, and assist their countrymen when necessity pressed upon them ; for I said it was not possible for me to lead more than one body. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their plans were thus put into very much disorder, because they had not effected what they had designed to do, as my stratagem foiled their undertakings.

§ 56. Now there was one of them whose name was Ananias, who was a wicked and very mischievous man. He proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that they should come at the same hour to the same place without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that unless they obtained his assistance, they thought every weapon useless. This he said, not out of piety, but to

catch me and my friends unarmed. And I was forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning, bidding him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for he would then be able easily to get me into his hands, and to do all that he desired to do. When John received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of my body-guards whom I esteemed the most courageous and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breastplate, and girt on my sword, so that it might be, as far as was possible, concealed, and went to the place of prayer.

§ 57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered me to enter with only my friends. And while we were engaged in the services of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down. and of the uncoined silver, and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to spin out the time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him, that he might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me further, "What is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money?" I replied, that I had given them to their ambassadors, as journey-money, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. To this Jonathan and his colleagues said, that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I foresaw that a tumult was going to arise, and being desirous not to provoke the people to greater rage against the men, I said, "Well, if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your

anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

§ 58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change on the part of the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay, for he said they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult; and, as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, there came one and told Jesus and his friend privately, that John and his armed men were at hand. Whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer (and perhaps the providence of God hereby procured my deliverance, for, had it not happened so, I should certainly have been destroyed by John), said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold, for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitudes of the Galilæans with his speeches, in order to obtain the rule over them." When he had said this, they at once laid hands on me, and endeavoured to kill me: but, as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; thus they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

§ 59. But when I advanced a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men, and being afraid of him I turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Tarichææ. So I escaped this danger beyond my expectation. Whereupon I at once sent for the chief of the Galilæans, and told them how, against all faith given, I had been very nearly slain by Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galilæans were very angry, and exhorted me to delay no longer to make war against them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his col-

leagues. However I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to stay till we should learn what news those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, would bring back; for I told them it was best for them to act according to their determination. And my words prevailed on them. At this time, also, John, as the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

§ 60. Now, in a few days, those ambassadors whom we had sent, came back again, and informed us that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends, because without any determination of the public they had sent to Galilee, and had tried to get me removed. The ambassadors said further, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had got these letters, I went to the village Arbela,[1] where I got an assembly of the Galilæans to meet, and bade the ambassadors relate to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home; to whom I immediately sent the letter, and bade him that carried it to inquire carefully what they intended to do.

§ 61. Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of Gabara, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. The men of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves, for they said it was not right to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, especially as I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that I had threatened to do so. Now John was not only of the

[1] Now *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

same opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude at Jerusalem for not managing the affairs of Galilee well, and he said they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because every multitude is very fickle. As, therefore, it appeared to them that John had given the wisest advice, they resolved that two of their number, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers as their guard.

§ 62. However, the men of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded the inhabitants to take up arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John, who was at Gischala, to assist them against me if there should be necessity. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they had departed from Tiberias, as soon as they were come to Dabaritta,[1] a village that lay on the borders of Galilee in the great plain, fell in about midnight with my guards, who not only commanded them to lay down their weapons, but kept them in bonds on the spot, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of the guard committed to him by me. I allowed two days to elapse, and, pretending to know nothing about this, I then sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay down their arms, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But they, supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, returned reproachful answers to me; yet was I not dismayed thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it agreeable to piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still in ambush in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, among the mountains as were the others, but only four furlongs

[1] Now *Debûrieh*, see p. 20.

from Tiberias, and gave order, that when they got my signal, they should come down immediately. And I myself went out of the village and encamped with my soldiers in the open. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me: and, standing round it, they mourned over me in jest and sport, and I could not but be myself in a merry humour at the sight of this madness of theirs.

§ 63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by stratagem, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and asked them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. And Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and from the hope of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, stayed behind. So, when Simon was come up, and his friends with him as a guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and confessed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me. But a little while afterwards I walked along with him, as though I would say something to him by myself; and, when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to take into the village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I, with them, made an assault upon Tiberias. Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to beat me (for my armed men had already fled away), I saw the posture of affairs, and, encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by storm, and so threw down their arms in fear, and implored, they and their wives and children, that I would spare their city. So I was moved by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from their im-

petuosity, and myself, upon the coming on of evening, returned back with my soldiers from the siege, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him about what had happened and promised him that I would send him safe to Jerusalem, and would also give him provisions for his journey thither.

§ 64. But, on the next day, I took ten thousand men with me, and went to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude to the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had pointed out who the men were, I sent them bound to the city of Jotapata. But, as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, and sent them with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them, to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and begged that I would forgive them for what they had done, and said they would amend what they had done amiss by their fidelity to me for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained from the plunder of the city for those that had lost them. Accordingly, I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us; and as they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him where he had got it from, and he replied that he had got it from the plunder of the city; so I had him punished with stripes, and I threatened to inflict a severer punishment upon all the rest unless they produced whatever they had plundered; and as a great many things were brought together, I restored to every one of the people of Tiberias what they recognized as their own.

§ 65. And now I am come to this part of my narrative, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who has himself written a history concerning these affairs, as also to all others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of hatred or goodwill to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men act like those who draw up forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the same punishment as them, pay no regard to truth. When, therefore, Justus

undertook to write the history of these things and of the Jewish war, that he might appear to be an industrious man, he lied in what he related about me, and did not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is, that being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defence, and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things long ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men, not out of any favour to them, but from his own moderation. How, then, comes it to pass (that I may address myself to him as if he were here present), O Justus! thou most clever of writers, for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galilæans were the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king? For, before I was ever appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war against Decapolis [1] in Syria. At any rate thou hadst burnt their villages, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this, but it is also written so in the Commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis clamoured against Vespasian at Ptolemais, and demanded that thou who wast the author [of that war,] shouldest be brought to punishment. And thou wouldst certainly have been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, changed the punishment, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice, from death to a long imprisonment. Thy administration of affairs afterwards doth also clearly discover, both thy other behaviour, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the

[1] See Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, vii. 31. Decapolis, or the "ten towns," is a political rather than a geographical expression; it was a confederacy, or "bund" of ten autonomous cities leagued together for mutual defence, and placed under the direct jurisdiction of the governor of Syria. The towns were Scythopolis, Hippos, Pella, Gadara, Philadelphia, Dion, Canatha, Raphana, Capitolias, and Abila. Pliny also calls Damascus a city of Decapolis.

Romans; plain proofs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that thou barest no good-will, either to the Romans, or to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris, and thy own native place Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able, with ease, to have been troublesome to the Romans, if it had so pleased, did yet resolve to continue faithful to its masters, and excluded me out of the city, and prohibited any of its citizens from joining with the Jews in the war. And that they might be out of danger from me, they by a wile got leave of me to fortify their city with walls; they also, of their own accord, admitted a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestius Gallus, who was then commander of the Roman legions in Syria, and so held me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling into the enemy's hands, they sent no assistance, not wishing to have it thought they would take up arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus! situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos [1] thirty furlongs, from Gadara [2] sixty, and from Scythopolis,[3] which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty, as there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity to the Romans, if it had so pleased; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But I was then, so thou sayest, the author of its revolt. And pray, O Justus! who was the author afterwards? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and that Jotapata was taken by storm, as well as many other fortresses, and that a great many of the Galilæans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw down your weapons, and to prove to the king and to the Romans, that it was

[1] *Sûsiyeh.* [2] *Umm Keis.* [3] *Beisân.*

not out of choice, but from necessity, that you rushed into war against them; but you stayed till Vespasian himself came up to your walls with his whole army, and then you did indeed lay down your weapons out of fear, and your city would certainly have been taken by storm, had not Vespasian complied with the king's supplication for you, and condoned your folly. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you in my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once rose one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, at the time when I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias at the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were slain and the rest taken and carried away captive? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king at that time. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, why was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterwards put thee into bonds, and as often ordered thee to be an exile from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, granted thee a pardon at the earnest request of his sister Berenice? and when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee manipulating his letters, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but marvel at thy impudence, in having the assurance to say, that thou hast better related the history of these affairs than have all the others that have written about them, since thou didst not know what was done in Galilee (for thou wast then at Berytus with the king), nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they inflicted upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for

all those that might have afforded thee such information were slain in that conflict. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem accurately. But how should that be? for neither wast thou engaged in that war, nor hast thou read the Commentaries of Cæsar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those Commentaries of Cæsar in thy history. And if thou art so confident as to affirm that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? For thou hadst written it twenty years before, and thou mightest then have had testimony to thy accuracy from people who knew the facts. But now, when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be confuted, thou venturest to publish it. But I was not afraid in like manner of mine own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves when the facts were almost still under men's eyes, for I was conscious to myself that I had stated the facts truly, and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were engaged in the war, as king Agrippa and some of his kindred. The emperor Titus indeed was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from my history alone, that he subscribed his own hand to it, and ordered that it should be published; while king Agrippa wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of my narration; two of which letters I have here subjoined, that thou mayest thereby know their contests, if thou wishest. "King Agrippa sendeth greeting to Josephus, his dearest friend. I have read through thy book with very great pleasure, and it appears to me, that thou hast written it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers on the same subject. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dearest friend."—"King Agrippa sendeth greeting to Josephus, his dearest friend. It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of

no instruction, in order to all our information from the beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." When this history was finished, Agrippa wrote this, neither by way of flattery, which was not in his line, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say (for he was entirely a stranger to such malignity of mind), but by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus,[1] as I am obliged to add this digression.

§ 66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled a council of my friends, I consulted what I should do to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Gallilæans, that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. But I was not pleased with their views, as I desired to compose these troubles without bloodshed. So I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John; which

[1] The character of this history of Justus of Tiberias, the rival of our Josephus, which is now lost, with its only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read that history. It is in the 33d code of his Bibliotheca, and runs thus:—"I have read (says Photius) the Chronology of Justus of Tiberias, whose title is this, [*The Chronology of*] *the kings of Judah which succeeded one another.* This [Justus] came out of the city Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moses, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa the seventh [ruler] of the family of Herod, and the last king of the Jews; who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and still more augmented by Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan, where also his history ends. He is very concise in his language, and slightly passes over those affairs that were most necessary to be insisted on; and being under the Jewish prejudices, as indeed he was himself also a Jew by birth, he makes not the least mention of the appearance of Christ, or of what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a certain Jew, whose name was *Pistus.* He was a man, as he is described by Josephus, of a most profligate character; a slave both to money and to pleasures. In public affairs he was opposite to Josephus; and it is related, that he laid many plots against him, but that Josephus, though he had this his enemy frequently under his power, did only reproach him in words, and so let him go without farther punishment. He says also, that the history which this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to those parts where he describes the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jerusalem."—W.

when they had done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as would take this advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened that, unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and confiscate their goods. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John, and four thousand threw down their arms and came to me. So that no others stayed with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers, that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterwards in his own country in great fear.

§ 67. About this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew bold and took up arms, from the confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. And Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would come; and, when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by storm. The Galilæans seized this opportunity, as thinking they had now a convenient time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city, and exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, finding them without inhabitants, for the men, out of fear, fled to the citadel. And they plundered everything, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen. But as they would neither hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too much for my exhortations to them), I bode those of my friends, who were most faithful to me,

and were about me, to spread the report that the Romans were attacking the other part of the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galilæans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem succeeded; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away; and that more especially, because they saw me, their general, doing the same also, for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

§ 68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galilæans also, upon the following occasion. The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bedchamber, whose name was Crispus, who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galilæans knew that this man carried such a letter, they arrested him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. And a great many of them assembled together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city of Asochis,[1] where I then lodged, and vehemently vociferated, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down, and utterly destroy it; for they bore the same ill-will to the people of Tiberias as they did to those of Sepphoris.

§ 69. When I heard this, I was in doubt how I could deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galilæans, for I could not deny that the people of Tiberias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long while musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have acted wrongly, nor shall I forbid you to plunder their city. However, such things ought to be

[1] *Kefr Menda.*

done with discretion; for the men of Tiberias have not been the only traitors to our liberty, but many of the most eminent of the Galilæans. Tarry, therefore, till I shall exactly find out the authors of this treason, and then you shall have them all at once in your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this, I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger and went their way; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds; but a few days afterwards I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to flee to the king. So, when Tiberias was in danger of being destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

§ 70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, escaped to the king without my knowledge. The occasion of which I will now relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans. But Justus tried to persuade them to take up arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for; for the Galilæans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, on account of their anger at the miseries they had suffered from them before the war; so they would not suffer Justus to be their governor. I myself also, who had been intrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, being unable to bear his villany. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my rage should come to extremity; so he sent to the king, supposing that he should dwell better and more safely with him.

§ 71. Now, when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and asked him to come to them quickly, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' attacks upon them;

and at last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night-time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about was harrassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and went to a village called Garis [1] where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city of Sepphoris, as I was at twenty furlongs' distance, and advanced upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our ignorance of the locality forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman infantry and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and retreated. There also fell in the battle one of those that had been instructed to guard my body, whose name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces both of horse and foot from the king, and Sylla as their commander, who was the captain of his body-guard: this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs' distance from Julias,[2] and set a guard upon the roads that led to Cana [3] and to the fortress of Gamala,[4] that he might hinder the inhabitants of Sepphoris [5] from getting provisions out of Galilee.

§ 72. As soon as I had got intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremiah, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy, till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and went to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an

[1] Site unknown.

[2] Sometimes identified with *et-Tell*, east of Jordan, but more probably at the spot where the Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1; Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1, and iii. 10, § 7.

[3] Probably *Kâna el-Jelil*.

[4] *Kul'at el-Husn*.

[5] *Sefûrieh*.

ambush in a certain valley, not far from the bank, I challenged those that belonged to the king to battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs, till they should have drawn the enemy on to follow them, which happened accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party were really fleeing, made ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them in the rear, and threw them all into great disorder. I also immediately wheeled round with my own force, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I should have performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hindrance; for the horse on which I rode in the battle fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village called Cepharnome.[1] When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been badly hurt, so they did not go on with the pursuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the doctors, and was under their hands, and continued feverish all that day; and as they directed, was that night removed to Tarichææ.[2]

§ 73. When Sylla and his party were informed of what had happened to me, they took courage again, and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they placed, by night, a body of horse in ambush beyond the Jordan, and when it was day they challenged us to fight; and as we did not refuse, but went into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of the ambush in which they had lain, and threw our men into disorder, and made them run away, and slew six of our men. Yet did they not go off with victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Tarichææ to Julias, they were afraid, and retired.

§ 74. It was not long now before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; and the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully against the king, and called him an enemy of the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, at his command.

[1] *Tell Hûm*, Capernaum. [2] *Kerak*.

When Vespasian heard this, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend of the Romans; but he advised the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But, when Philip was sent to Rome, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him in extremities on account of the troubles that then happened and civil war, so he returned to the king. But, when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the leading men of Decapolis in Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction: yet did the king [only] put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and received his forces and Placidus their commander: and also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and how it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village of Tarichææ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and what I did in the siege of it, and how I was taken alive and bound, and how I was afterwards set free, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related all this in the books concerning the Jewish War. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in my history of the Jewish War.

§ 75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was treated very well, chiefly because of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin of the country, who was one of the captives taken at Cæsarea; but she did not live with me long, but left me upon my being freed from my bonds, and going to Alexandria. And I married another wife at Alexandria. I was thence sent with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of death, as the Jews were very desirous to get me in their power, in order to have me punished, and the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it happened through my treachery, and made continual

clamours to the commander-in-chief, and desired that he would bring me to punishment as a traitor to them. But Titus Cæsar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehemence against me. And when the city of Jerusalem was taken by storm, Titus Cæsar urged me frequently to take whatever I would out of the ruins of my country, and said that he gave me leave so to do. But when my country was detroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort in my calamities, but personal freedom, so I made request for this to Titus. I had also the holy books by Titus' concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother and fifty friends, and was not denied. When I also went, by permission of Titus, to the temple, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children shut up, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety, and I released them without their paying any ransom, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Cæsar with Ceralius and a thousand horsemen to a certain village called Thecoa,[1] in order to see if it was a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives being crucified, and recognised three of them as my former acquaintances. I was very sorry in my mind at this, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them. And he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery. But two of them died under the surgeon's hands, while the third recovered.

§ 76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judæa, conjecturing that the lands which I had near Jerusalem would bring me in no profit, because a garrison of Romans to guard the country was afterwards to pitch there, he gave me another estate in the plain. And, when he was going home to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and showed me great respect. And, when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by

[1] Tekoa, the birthplace of the prophet Amos; now *Tekû'a*, ten miles south of Jerusalem.

Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in the house which he lived in before he came to be emperor. He also honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which thing made me envied, and brought me into danger. For a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a revolt in Cyrene,[1] and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin, and when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die, according to which sentence he was put to death. And frequently after that, when those who envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small grant of land in Judæa. And about this time I divorced my wife, not being pleased with her behaviour, though she was the mother of three children, two of whom are dead, and one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is still alive. After this I married a wife who lived at Crete, but was a Jewess by birth; she was of noble parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all that country, and her character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did show. By her I had two sons, the elder named Justus, and the next Simonides, and also Agrippa. These were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. And the kindness of the emperors to me continued the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the empire, kept up the same respect for me as I had from his father: and, though I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded him, even augmented my honours; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and tutor of my son, should be punished. He also made the land I had in Judæa tax-free, which is a mark of the

[1] The chief town of Cyrenaica, or Pentapolis, a district in North Africa, to the west of Egypt.

greatest honour to him who hath it. Domitia also, the wife of Cæsar, continued to do me many kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, Epaphroditus, most excellent of men, do I dedicate all my work on our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude this narrative.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

PREFACE.

§ 1.

THOSE who write histories, do not, I observe, take that trouble for one and the same, but for many and very different reasons. Some apply themselves to this part of learning to parade their skill in composition, and to acquire reputation thereby; others, to gratify those that happen to have been personally concerned in them, have spared no pains, but even gone beyond their own abilities in the undertaking; others again have been compelled by force of circumstances to narrate clearly the affairs in which they themselves had a hand; while many are induced by the importance and utility of the real facts, and by the general ignorance about them, to produce them for the benefit of the public. Now of these several reasons for writing history, the two last were my own also; for since I myself had witnessed the war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew its particular actions, and conclusion, I felt forced to give the history of it, because of those who perverted the truth in their writings.

§ 2. Now I have undertaken the present work, thinking it will appear to all the Greeks [1] worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, translated from the Hebrew writings. I had intended, when I wrote the history of the Jewish War,[2] to explain who the Jews originally were, what fortunes they had had, and by what legislator they had been instructed in

[1] That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.—W. So also at the end of this paragraph. At this time all the Roman world spoke Greek, and so Greek had become a general term for all the Roman Empire.

[2] We may note here, that Josephus wrote his seven books of the Jewish War long before he wrote these his Antiquities. Those books of the War were published about A.D. 75, and these Antiquities A.D. 93, about eighteen years later.—W.

religion, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars they had also fought in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans. But as this work would have taken up a great compass, I separated it into a work by itself, with a beginning and conclusion of its own, but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great works, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject to translate into a foreign and strange language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and above all the rest, Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kinds of learning, but especially delights in the knowledge of history, and that on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to his persuasions, for he always stimulates such as have abilities for what is useful and noble to a like ardour to his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were most noble, so I roused myself to greater exertions. Besides the foregoing motives, I had one which greatly swayed me, namely that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others, and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the history of our nation.

§ 3. I found for example that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also very desirous to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our polity according to it, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar, not inferior in virtue to any of our high priests, did not grudge the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which he would certainly have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was to hinder nothing that we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the

king; for he did not obtain all our records, for those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law. But there is a vast number of other matters in out sacred books, which, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, great exploits of commanders, and changes in our constitution. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well even to an incredible degree, and that the reward of felicity is given by God, to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men depart from the strict observance of them, what was practical before becomes impracticable; and whatever they set about as a good thing ends in irremediable calamity. And so I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God, and to test our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him, and hath ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath kept his account pure from the unseemly mythology current with others; although, from the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged any lies; for he lived two thousand years ago: to which distant time the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to refer even the generations of their gods, much less the actions or laws of men. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have promised so to do throughout this work, neither adding anything to what is therein contained, nor taking away anything therefrom.

§ 4. Now as almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, it is necessary for me first to make a few remarks about him, for otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it comes to pass that, while it promises an account of laws and historical facts, it contains so much physiology. The reader is, therefore, to know, that Moses deemed it exceedingly necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, should in the first place consider the divine nature; and upon the contemplation of God's

operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, as far as possible, and endeavour to follow after it; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation, nor would anything he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers, unless they were taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but brings such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into great misery. Now as Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin his legislation in the same manner that other legislators did as to contracts and rights between man and man, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the works of God upon earth, and when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things. But as to all other legislators, they followed fables, and in their legends imputed the most reproachful of human vices to the gods, and so afforded wicked men great pretext for their own crimes; while our legislator, when he had once shown that God was possessed of perfect virtue, thought men also ought to strive after the participation of the same, and on those who did not so think and believe he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine my subject from this point of view; for so it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator teaches some things wisely but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but explains such things as require a direct explanation plainly and distinctly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of everything, may find here much philosophical contemplation, which I now indeed shall defer, but if God affords me time, I shall set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the narration of events, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books in the following manner.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE YEARS.—FROM THE CREATION TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

CHAP. I.

The Constitution of the World, and the Disposition of the Elements.

§ 1.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth had not yet come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to the one was night, and the other he called day, and he named the beginning of light morning, and the time of rest evening. And this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; I could tell why now; but because I have promised to give the reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its explanation till then. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from it, and determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a moist and rainy firmament round it, in a manner agreeable to the earth, for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he caused the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day

he made plants and seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, and moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the changes of the seasons might be clearly marked by them. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures that swim in the sea, and those that fly in the air: and made them fit partners for one another severally both as to society and sexual ends, that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says that in just six days the world, and all that is therein, was made, and that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations, whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labours on that day, and call it the sabbath: which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

§ 2. After his account of the creation, Moses begins to talk physiologically, and concerning the formation of man says that God took dust from the ground, and formed man of it, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies red, because he was formed of red earth compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also brought the living creatures according to their kinds, both male and female, and showed them to Adam, and he gave them the names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society (for there was no such created), and that he wondered at the other animals being male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed woman; and Adam knew when she was brought to him that she was made out of himself. Now woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living.

§ 3. Moses says further, that God planted a garden eastward, full of all sorts of trees; and that among them was the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil: and that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river, which

ran round the whole earth, and was divided into four—Phison, Euphrates, Tigris, and Geon.[1] Phison, which denotes a multitude, runs into India, and makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates and Tigris flow into the Red Sea. Now Euphrates is also called Phora, which denotes rush, or produce, and Tigris is also called Diglath, which denotes swift with narrowness, and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the east, and is by the Greeks called Nile.

§ 4. Now God commanded Adam and his wife to eat of all the other plants, but to abstain from the tree of knowledge, and foretold them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But as all living creatures had one language at that time, the serpent who then lived together with Adam and his wife, was envious of their happiness, for he thought they would be happy if they obeyed the commands of God, and that if they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities. So he persuaded the woman, out of malicious intent, to taste of the tree of knowledge, telling her, that in that tree was the knowledge of good and evil; which knowledge whoso should obtain, would lead a happy life; nay, a life not inferior to that of a god: by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of the tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to eat of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were naked, and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they tried to find some covering, for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and placing these before them out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who used before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wickedness, kept out of the way. This behaviour surprised God; and he asked what was the reason of it? and why he, that before delighted in his company, did now

[1] Compare Genesis ii. 10-14, where the name of the Tigris is given as Hiddekel; the upper Tigris is still called *Dijleh*. For the site of Eden, and the identification of the four rivers, see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*.

shun and avoid it? When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had intended that you should both lead a happy life, without any care and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence spontaneously, without your labour and pains; which labour and pains would soon bring on old age, and your life would not be long: but now thou hast mocked at my purpose and disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of virtue, but of an evil conscience." Then Adam began to excuse his sin, and to entreat God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife, and said that he was deceived by her, and became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God punished Adam for weakly submitting to the counsel of his wife; and said that the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that only to their severe labour should it bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also punished Eve by the sharp pains of bringing forth children, because she had persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her, and had so ruined him. He also deprived the serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malignity to Adam, and inserted poison under his tongue to show that he was an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and that it would be easiest to take vengeance on him that way. And depriving him of his feet, he made him trail and crawl on the ground. And, when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve from the garden to another place.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Posterity of Adam, and the Ten Generations from him to the Deluge.

§ 1.

ADAM and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named Cain, which being interpreted, signifies possession; the younger was Abel, which signifies sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brothers were pleased with different pursuits. Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness, and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he paid regard to virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was only intent upon gain, and he first devised ploughing the ground. He slew his brother on the following occasion. They had resolved to sacrifice to God, and Cain brought the fruits of his husbandry and of trees, but Abel brought milk and the first-fruits of his flocks: and God was more delighted with the latter sacrifice, when he was honoured with what came naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and got by forcing the ground. So Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What was become of his brother? because he had not seen him many days; whereas he had observed them conversing together at other times. But Cain was at a loss, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he himself knew not what to make either of his brother's disappearance, but getting angry, as God pressed him and closely questioned him, he replied, that he was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. Then God convicted Cain of having been the murderer of his brother, and said, "I wonder that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God, however, did not inflict the punishment

[of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him, but he made him accursed, and threatened to punish his posterity in the seventh generation; he also cast him and his wife out of that land. And as he was afraid, that in wandering about he might fall among wild beasts, and so perish, God bade him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, but to go over all the earth, without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and having set a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

§ 2. And when Cain had travelled over much ground, he, with his wife, settled in a place called Nod,[1] where he made his abode; and also had his children born there. However, he did not take his punishment as a warning, but only became the wickeder, studying only his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he incited his acquaintance to luxury and robbery, and became their leader in wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that simplicity in which men lived before by the introduction of measures and weights; and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about land; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and compelled his family to crowd into it; and called it Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaleel; whose son was Methuselah; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of the children by Ada one was Jabel: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother too, was an adept in music, and invented the psaltery and harp. But Tubal, one of Lamech's sons by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was a mighty man of war. He was the first who devised armour for the girding of the body.[2]

[1] Nod lay to the east of Eden (Gen. iv. 16).

[2] The ordinary reading, *τὰ πρὸς ἡδόνην τοῦ σώματος*, seems so inex-

Lamech was also the father of a daughter whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he himself was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Even while Adam was alive, the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, one after another by force of example turning out worse. They were exceedingly addicted to war, and eager for rapine. And, generally speaking, if any of them were slow to murder, yet was he a bold desperado, insulting, greedy and grasping.

§ 3. Now Adam, the first man made out of the earth (for our discourse must now go back to him), after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire for children, being two hundred and thirty years old; after which he lived seven hundred years more, and then died. He had, indeed, several more children, and among them Seth. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will, therefore, only endeavour to give an account of the posterity of Seth. This Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, practised virtue, and, as he was himself an excellent man, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All of them were good, and inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They were also the inventors of the science of astronomy. And, that their inventions might not be lost before they became generally known, upon Adam's prediction that the world would be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, one of brick, the other of stone, and inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and teach mankind those discoveries, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. And it remains in the land of Siris to this day.

plicable here, that I emend *τὰ πρὸς ζώνην τοῦ σώματος*. See Pausanias, ix. 17. Perhaps the *ἡδόνην* got in from what was said a little before about Cain.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Flood, and how Noah was saved in an Ark, with his Kindred, and afterwards dwelt in the Plain of Shinar.

§ 1.

NOW the posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations, but in process of time they changed to worse from the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men; but instead of that zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed in their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God their enemy. For many angels of God formed connections with women, and begat sons that were violent, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their strength; for the tradition is, that their acts resembled the daring of those whom the Greeks call giants. But Noah, being very vexed and displeased at their conduct, tried to induce them to change their dispositions and actions for the better: but seeing that they did not listen to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, so he departed out of that land with his wife and sons and sons' wives.

§ 2. Now God loved Noah for his righteousness: and not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only, he turned the dry land into sea. And thus were all these men destroyed. But Noah alone was saved, for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape:—That he should make an ark of four stories, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly, he entered into the ark, he and his wife and his sons, and their wives, and not only put into

it other provisions to support their wants there, but also all sorts of living creatures, male and female, for the preservation of their kind, *some in pairs*, others by sevens. Now the ark was strong, and well-constructed both in its sides and roof, so that it could not be any way inundated, or unequal to the violence of the water. And thus Noah, with his family, was preserved. He was the tenth from Adam, being the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

§ 3. This calamity happened in the six hundreth year of Noah's life, in the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius, but by the Hebrews Marshesvan; for so did they order the year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that month began the year, as to all the solemnities observed in honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now Moses says that this flood began on the twenty-seventh day of the forementioned month; and was two thousand two hundred and fifty-six years [1] from Adam the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

§ 4. Seth then was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived altogether nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enos in his two hundred and fifth year, and lived nine hundred and twelve years. Enos delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had in his hundred and ninetieth year, and lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan lived nine hundred and ten years, and had a son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving a son, Jared, whom he begat when he was in his hundred and

[1] To make Josephus' numbers square with § 4, I adopt the necessary and very small alteration of reading διακοσίων for ἑξακοσίων. Then constat ratio.

sixty-fifth year. Jared lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Enoch, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is, that they have not written down his death. Now Methuselah, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; who succeeded him when he had lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. And Lamech, when he had lived seven hundred and seventy-seven years, left Noah his son to be the head of the family, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and lived nine hundred and fifty years. These years, added together, make up the sum before set down.[1] But let no one calculate the deaths of these men (for part of their lives was co-extensive with the lives of their children and grandchildren), but let him regard their births only.

§ 5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth, which was the reason why there were no more preserved, since they had no place of refuge. When the rain ceased, the water began to abate after one hundred and fifty days, that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, and then subsided by degrees. Then Noah, observing that the ark rested on the peak of a mountain in Armenia, opened it, and seeing some land about it, he felt easier, and more full of hope. And a few days afterwards, when the water was decreased still more, he sent out a raven, desiring to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the subsidence of the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still under water, returned to Noah again. And seven days after he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground; which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: so Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. And when he had stayed seven more days,

[1] In § 3, namely 2,256.

he put the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out of it, and sacrificed to God, and feasted. And the Armenians call this place Landing-place; indeed, as the ark was preserved there, its remains are showed by the inhabitants to this day.

§ 6. Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark, and among them Berosus the Chaldæan. For describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus:—"It is said, there is still some part of the vessel in Armenia, near the mountain of the Cordyæans,[1] and that some people carry off pieces of its bitumen, which they use as charms." Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phœnician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and many more, make mention of the same. Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, gives the following account about it:—"There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Milyas, called Baris,[2] upon which, it is reported, that many who fled to it for refuge at the time of the deluge were saved; and that one, who was in an ark, came ashore on the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved: this might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

§ 7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had once destroyed mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of living creatures would be in danger of destruction; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would spare those that for their goodness had been left, and judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for otherwise these last would be more

[1] The Cordyæan Mountains separated Armenia from Assyria, and the name is preserved in *Kurds* and *Kurdistân*. Berosus probably alludes to the "Mountain of Nizir," or *Rowandiz*, on which the ark of the Chaldæan Noah rested.

[2] Josephus identifies the mountain upon which the ark rested with the traditional Mount Ararat. For discussion on the more probable site to the south, see Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," 'Ararat.' Milyas, or Minyas, the country of the Minni, adjoined Ararat on the south-east. Baris, or Lubar, is said by Epiphanius to have been the boundary between Armenia and the Kurds.

miserable than the first, and would have a worse sentence, if not safe for ever, but reserved for another deluge; for they would be terrified by the remembrance of the first deluge, and would be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and never again so to punish the earth, that men might continue to cultivate it, to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood, but might attain to the like length of days and old age as their progenitors.

§ 8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted all his prayers, and said that it was not he who had brought destruction on a polluted world, but that they had undergone that vengeance on account of their wickedness; nor would he have brought men into the world, if he had intended to destroy them, it being greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; but "the outrages," said he, "they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will cease for the time to come to exact such heavy punishment for wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall, at any time, send extraordinary tempests of rain, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more cover the earth. However, I bid you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder, and to punish those that commit murder, and to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you: for I have made you lords of them all, both of beasts of the earth, and fishes of the sea, and fowls of the air, except their blood, for therein is the life. And I will give you a sign, that I have left off my anger, by my bow" (meaning the rainbow, for they considered it the bow of God). And when God had said and promised this, he went away.

§ 9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and happily all that time, he died at the age of nine hundred and fifty years. Now let no one comparing the lives of these ancients with our short lives, think that what we have said of them is false; or make

the shortness of our lives now an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for they were beloved of God, and made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolonging of life, might well live so great a number of years; and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of their time in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which they could not have made unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. I am borne out in what I have said by all those that have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barbarians: for Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berosus, who compiled the Chaldæan, and Mochus and Hestiæus and Hieronymus the Egyptian, who compiled the Phœnician history, agree to what I here say. And Hesiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicus and Acusilaus, and beside them, Ephorus and Nicolaus, relate that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Tower of Babylon, and the Confusion of Tongues.

§ 1.

NOW the three sons of Noah, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, who were born one hundred years before the deluge, first descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others, who were greatly afraid of living in the plains on account of the flood, and so were loath to come down from the higher ground, to venture to follow their example, and the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shinar.[1] And although God had commanded them to send out colonies, if they

[1] The great alluvial plain through which the Tigris and Euphrates run before reaching the sea; known in later times as Chaldæa or Babylonia.

should grow numerous, that they might not quarrel among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits in abundance, in their ignorance they did not obey God. So they fell into calamities, and were made sensible by experience of their error. And as they flourished with a numerous population, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from his favour, but supposing that their own strength was the cause of it, did not obey him. Nay, they added to their disobedience to the divine will the suspicion that God urged them to send out colonies, that being dispersed, they might the more easily be oppressed.

§ 2. It was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God that they were happy, but to believe that it was their own excellence that procured them happiness. He also gradually established absolute sway, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but by bringing them into complete dependence on his power. He also said, "He would be revenged on God, if he should design to drown the world again, for he would build a tower too high for the water to be able to reach; and he would be even with him for destroying his forefathers."

§ 3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the ideas of Nimrod, esteeming it slavery to submit to God: so they built the tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent, about the work; and, by reason of the many hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great that its height seemed to those who saw it less than it really was. It was built of burnt brick cemented with bitumen, that it might be waterproof. When God saw that they were so mad, he resolved not to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of those that perished in the flood, but set them at variance by causing them to speak in different languages, so that they could not understand one another. The place where they built the tower is now called Babylon,

because of the confusion of that language which they clearly understood before, for the Hebrews call confusion Babel. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of tongues, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a very high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind, and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason the city was called Babylon."[1] And as to the plain of Shinar, in the region of Babylon, Hestiæus mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius, and went to Shinar in Babylonia."

CHAP. V.

How the Posterity of Noah colonized the whole Earth.

§ 1.

AFTER this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their different languages, and threw out colonies everywhere; and each colony took possession of that land which they lit upon, and into which God led them, so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and maritime parts. Some also passed over the sea in ships, and settled in the islands, and some of the nations still retain the names which were given them by their first founders, but some have altered them, and some have modified them, that they might be more intelligible to sojourners in them. It was the Greeks that introduced these changes of nomenclature; for growing powerful in after times, they monopolized the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well, and that they themselves understood, and imposing forms of government over them, as if they were descended from themselves.

[1] *Birs Nimrûd*, and ruins near *Hillah*, on the Euphrates.

CHAP. VI.

How every Nation was named after its First Settlers.

§ 1.

NOW it was in honour of the grandchildren of Noah, that names were imposed on the nations by those that first occupied any land. Japheth, the son of Noah, had seven sons. They began from the mountains Taurus[1] and Amanus,[2] and proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais,[3] and along Europe as far as Gades,[4] and settling on the lands they lit upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galati, but were then called Gomerites. Magog founded those that were named Magogites after him, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japheth, from Madai came the Madæi, who are called Medes by the Greeks; and from Javan Ionia and all the Greeks come. Thobel founded the Thobeli, who are now called Iberes; and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; they are now called Cappadocians, but a trace of their ancient name still exists, for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca,[5] which shows experts that the entire nation was so called once. And Thiras called those whom he ruled over Thires, but the Greeks changed the name into Thracians. So many were the nations that the sons of Japheth founded. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanazus founded the Aschanazi, who are now called by the Greeks Rhegines, and Riphath founded the Riphatheans, now called Paphlagonians, and Thorgames the Thorgameans, whom the Greeks determined to call Phrygians. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of

[1] The Taurus range extends along the south coast of Asia Minor from the Ægean sea to the present frontier of Persia.

[2] The Amanus, now *Giaour Dagh*, runs southwards from the Taurus to the Orontes.

[3] The river *Don*.

[4] *Cadiz*.

[5] Now *Kaisariyeh*, near Mount Argæus, in Asia Minor.

Japheth Elisas gave name to the Elisæans, who were his subjects, they are now the Æolians; and Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia[1] of old called, the proof of which is that the noblest city which they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus,[2] Tau being by change put for Theta. Chethimus occupied the island Chetima, now called Cyprus, and from it all islands, and most maritime parts, are called Chethim by the Hebrews. My proof is that one city in Cyprus has been able to preserve its name, the one called Citium[3] by the Greeks, which has not very much deviated from its old name of Chethim. And so many nations did the sons and grandsons of Japheth occupy. Now when I have first stated what perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return to what I have omitted. The names are spelled here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers; for our own language does not so spell them: but the names in all cases are one and the same: for the name we here spell Noeus, is there Noah, and in every case is the same.

§ 2. The sons of Ham occupied the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus;[4] seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean appropriating it as their own. Some indeed of their names are utterly lost, others changed or modified so as to be hardly recognizable, but a few have retained their names intact. For example, of the four sons of Ham, time has not altered the name of Chusus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves, and by all men in Asia, called Chusaeans. The memory also of the Mestraei is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit that country call Egypt Mestre,[5] and the Egyptians Mestraeans. Phutes also was the founder of Libya,[6] and called the inhabitants Phuti after himself. There is also a river in the country of the Mauri, which bears that name;

[1] Cilicia corresponds very nearly with the modern province of *Adana*, at the south-east end of Asia Minor.

[2] Now *Tersûs*.

[3] Close to *Larnaca*.

[4] Mount Lebanon.

[5] The name is still retained in the Arabic *Misr*.

[6] The country west of Egypt; in Jewish War, vii. 11, § 1. Josephus speaks of Libya Pentapolitana, that is of Cyrenaica; the five towns were Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, and Apollonia.

whence most of the Greek historians mention that river, and the adjoining country, by the appellation of Phute. But the name it has now, Libya, has been given it from one of the sons of Mestraim, who was called Libys. I shall soon say why it was called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, occupied the country now called Judæa, and called it after his own name Canaan. Now Chusus had six sons, Sabas who founded the Sabæans, Evilas who founded the Evilæans, who are now called Gætuli, Sabathas who founded the Sabatheni, now called by the Greeks Astabari, Sabacathas who founded the Sabacatheni, and Regmus, who founded the Regmæans, who had two sons, one of whom, Judadas, founded the Judadæans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name, as the other, Sabas, did to the Sabæans; but Nimrod, the son of Chusus, stayed and was king at Babylon, as I have already stated. Now all the sons of Mestraim, being eight in number, occupied the country from Gaza[1] to Egypt, though it retained the name of one of them only, Phylistinus, for the Greeks call his share Palestine. As for the rest, Ludiim, Enemetiim, Labiim (who alone inhabited Libya, and called the country after himself), Nedim, Phethrosim, Chesloim, and Chepthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopic war, which I shall describe hereafter, overthrew those cities. The sons of Canaan were Sidon, who built a city of the same name in Phœnicia, still also by the Greeks called Sidon;[2] Amathius, who inhabited Amathe,[3] which is even now called so by its inhabitants, although the Macedonians called it Epiphania, from one of their kings; Aradius, who occupied the island Aradus;[4] Arucæus, who occupied Arce,[5] which is in Libanus. But for the seven others, Chettæus, Jebusæus, Amorrhæus, Gergesæus, Euæus, Asennæus, and Samaræus,[6] we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their

[1] Now *Ghuzzeh*, on the sea-coast in southern Palestine.

[2] Now *Saida*, on the coast south of *Beirût*.

[3] The Hamath of the Bible; now *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

[4] The Arvad of Ezek. xxvii. 8-11; now the island of *Ruad*, off the Syrian coast to the north of Tripoli.

[5] Now *Tell 'Arka*, not far from Tripoli.

[6] For the corresponding Biblical lists, see Genesis x.

cities, their calamities coming upon them for the following reason.

§ 3. After the deluge, when the earth was restored to its former condition, Noah set about its cultivation; and having planted it with vines, when the fruit was ripe he gathered the grapes in their season, and when the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and got drunk, and fell asleep, and lay naked in an indecent manner. When his youngest son saw this, he laughed, and showed his brothers, but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah knew of it, he prayed for the prosperity of his other sons, but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity: and as the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, I shall speak more hereafter.

§ 4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who colonized Asia from the Euphrates to the Indian ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Asshur founded the city of Nineveh,[1] and called his subjects Assyrians, who enjoyed great prosperity. Arphaxad called his subjects Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldæans. Aram was father of the Aramites, whom the Greeks call Syrians, and Lud founded the Ludites, who are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis[2] and Damascus, between Palestine and Cœle-Syria.[3] Ulus founded Armenia, Gatherus the Bactriani, Mesas the Mesanæi, now called Spasini Charax. Salah was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, after whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews. Heber begat Joctan and Phalek: he was called Phalek, because he was born when the earth was divided, for Phalek in the Hebrew tongue signifies division. Now Joctan, the other son of Heber, had thirteen sons:—Elmodad, Saleph, Azermoth, Jerah, Adoram, Aizel, Declah, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Evilates, and Jobab. They colonized from

[1] The ruins of Nineveh are on the Tigris, opposite *Mosul*.

[2] *el-Lejah*.

[3] The great valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, now *el-Bukâ'a;* the name sometimes included the country east of Anti-Lebanon, and the Damascus district.

Cophen, an Indian river, and parts of Aria adjoining to it. Let this much suffice for the sons of Shem.

§ 5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phalek, whose father was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, whose son was Nahor, whose son was Terah, the father of Abraham, who was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge, for Terah begat Abraham in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Terah, when he was one hundred and twenty years old: Nahor was born to Serug in his hundred and thirty-second year: Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phalek had Ragau: Heber begat Phalek in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Salah, when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad begot in the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abraham had two brothers, Nahor and Haran; of these, Haran left a son, Lot, and daughters, Sarah and Milchah, and died among the Chaldæans, in a city of the Chaldees, called Ur,[1] and his tomb is shown to this day. Nahor and Abraham married their nieces, Nahor Milchah, and Abraham Sarah. Now Terah hating Chaldæa, on account of his losing Haran there, they all removed to Charran[2] in Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived two hundred and five years, for the life of man was already by degrees diminished, and became shorter, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to be that length; which was the age that Moses happened to lived to. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milchah:—Uz, Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the legitimate sons of Nahor: for Tebah, Gaham, Tavaus, and Maachah, were born of Reumah, his concubine. But Bethuel, one of Nahor's legitimate sons, had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

[1] Now probably *Mugheir*, on the right bank of the Euphrates, south of Babylon.

[2] The Haran of Gen. xi. 31, &c.; now *Harran*, between the Euphrates and the *Khabûr*.

CHAP. VII.

How Abraham our Forefather went out of the Land of the Chaldæans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, but now Judæa.

§ 1.

NOW Abraham, having no legitimate son, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarah's brother, and left Chaldæa[1] when he was seventy-five years old, at the command of God removing to Canaan, and there he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things, and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his inferences. So he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and determined to alter and change the opinion all men then had concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to declare that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe; and that of other things whatever contributed anything to the happiness of men, was only according to his appointment, and not by its own power. This he inferred from the changes on land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, for if, he argued, those bodies had power of their own, they would certainly make their motions regular, but since they did not preserve such regularity, they made it plain, that, so far as they co-operated to our advantage, they did it not of their own power, but as subservient to him that commanded them, to whom alone we ought to pay honour and thanksgiving. For which opinions, when the Chaldæans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought it best to leave that country; and at the will, and by the assistance of God, he dwelt in the land of Canaan: and when he was settled there, he built an altar, and sacrificed to God.

§ 2. Berosus mentions our father Abraham without naming him, when he says thus:—"In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldæans a man,

[1] The southern portion of Babylonia.

just and great, and skilful in his knowledge of the heavenly bodies." But Hecatæus does more than merely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his History, says thus:—"Abraham reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldæans; but no long time after he departed and moved from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called Canaan, but now Judæa, he and his numerous posterity, whose history I shall relate in another book. Now the name of Abraham is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and they show a village named after him, The Habitation of Abraham."

CHAP. VIII.

How, when there was a Famine in Canaan, Abraham went thence into Egypt, and after he had continued there some time, returned back again.

§ 1.

SOME time after this, when a famine had seized upon the land of Canaan, and Abraham heard that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of their plenty, and to hear what their priests said concerning the gods; intending either to follow them if they had better notions than he, or to convert them to a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. And as he took Sarah with him, and was afraid of the mad lust of the Egyptians for women, lest the king should kill him on account of his wife's great beauty, he contrived the following device. He pretended to be her brother, and instructed her to say the same, for he said it would be for their benefit. Now, as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abraham as he supposed it would, for his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and intended to enjoy her;

but God but a stop to his unjust desires by illness and an insurrection. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him, that they came from the wrath of God, on account of his intention to outrage the stranger's wife. He then, in fear, asked Sarah, Who she was? and who it was that she brought along with her? And when he had found out the truth, he made his excuses to Abraham, for, supposing her to be his sister and not his wife, he had set his affections on her, desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not incited by lust to outrage her. He also made him a large present in money, and gave him full liberty to converse with the most learned among the Egyptians: from which converse his virtue and reputation became more conspicuous than before.

§ 2. For whereas the Egyptians were addicted to different customs, and depreciated one another's usages, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abraham conferred with each of them, and examining the reasoning they made use of to maintain their views, he demonstrated that such reasoning was idle, and void of truth. So he was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and able, when he discoursed on any subject, not only to understand it, but to persuade other men also to assent to him. He instructed them in arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for, before Abraham came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those branches of learning, for they were imported from the Chaldæans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

§ 3. As soon as Abraham returned to Canaan, he divided the land between him and Lot, on account of the quarrels of their shepherds concerning the land where they grazed. So he gave Lot his option and choice, and took himself what the other left, which were the skirts of the mountain range, and dwelt in Hebron,[1] a city seven years ancienter than Tanis[2] in Egypt. But Lot occupied the land in the plain watered by the Jordan, not far from the city of

[1] Now *el-Khulîl*, in the hill country south of Jerusalem.

[2] The Zoan of the Bible; now *San*, near Lake *Menzaleh*, in Lower Egypt.

Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed by the will and wrath of God, the cause of which I shall show in its proper place.

CHAP. IX.

The Reverse sustained by the Sodomites at the Hand of the Assyrians.

§ 1.

AT this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom[1] were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and the number of their youth. There were five kings that ruled that country, Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, and the king of Bela;[2] and each king led his own troops; and the Assyrians made war upon them, and divided their army into four parts and beleaguered them, and each part of their army too had its own commander. In the battle that ensued, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years, and so long continued to pay their tribute: but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians invaded them, under their commanders Amarapsis, Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp in the vale called the Asphalt-pits, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake Asphaltitis,[3] as it is called; however, concerning this lake, I shall say more presently. Now, when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, the fight was very stoutly contested, and many of them were killed, and the rest carried away captive; and among them Lot, who had come to help the Sodomites.

[1] Sodom lay in the Jordan Valley, north of the Dead Sea, the site has not been identified.

[2] Another name for Zoar, now perhaps *Tell esh-Shaghûr*, near the foot of the hills east of Jordan.

[3] The Dead Sea.

CHAP. X.

How Abraham fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and rescued the Sodomites who were Prisoners, and recovered from the Assyrians the Prey they had taken.

§ 1.

WHEN Abraham heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbours; and thinking it right to come to their aid, he did not delay, but made a forced march, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians near Dan[1] (for that is the name of one of the springs of the Jordan); and before they could arm themselves, he slew some in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. And Abraham pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them all into Hobah,[2] in the region of Damascus, showing that victory does not depend on numbers and hands, but that the zeal and mettle of soldiers overcome all odds, seeing that he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends; whereas all those that had fled returned home ingloriously.

§ 2. So Abraham, when he had rescued the Sodomites, who had been taken captive by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, marched home in peace. And the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they call The King's Dale, where Melchisedek, king of the city of Salem,[3] received him. His name signifies righteous king; and such he was, with-

[1] Now *Tell el-Kâdy*, near *Bâniâs*.

[2] According to Jewish tradition it is now *Jobâr*, north of Damascus; according to Moslem tradition it is now *Buzreh*, to the north-west of *Jobâr*.

[3] According to Josephus and the Jewish commentators Salem was the same as Jerusalem; the Samaritans identified it with Shunem, now *Sôlam*, to the north of Jezreel; and Jerome says that, in his day, it was a town of the same name near Scythopolis, *Beisân*.

out dispute, insomuch that, on that account, he was made priest of God: and Salem they afterwards called Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedek supplied Abraham's army in a hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abraham gave him the tenth part of the prey, he accepted the gift. But when the king of Sodom desired Abraham to take the remaining nine-tenths of the prey, only asking to have those men restored to him whom Abraham had rescued from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him, Abraham would not have any more of the prey than what his servants had eaten, and a portion for the friends that had shared in the expedition. The first of them was called Eschol, the second Enner, and the third Mambres.

§ 3. And God commended his virtue, and said, "Thou shalt not, however, lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive for thy glorious actions." He answered, "And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me?" for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous, insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this: he took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon: and, as he was enjoined, he divided in the midst the beasts, but not the birds. Then, before he built his altar, as birds of prey hovered upon the carcases, smelling the blood, a divine voice came to him, telling him that his posterity would have wicked neighbours in Egypt for four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards overcome their enemies, conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess their land and cities.

§ 4. Now Abraham dwelt near the oak called Ogyges,[1] a place in Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But

[1] The oak, or "terebinth" of Abraham, was at the ruin known as *Râmet el-Khulîl*, not far from Hebron; a church was afterwards built at the spot by Constantine.

being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant him a son; and God exhorted him to be of good cheer, and said that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarah, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, an Egyptian by race, in order to obtain children by her: and when this handmaid was with child, she ventured to affront Sarah, and play the queen, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abraham resigned her into the hand of Sarah to punish her, she contrived to flee away, not being able to bear Sarah's harshness to her: and she entreated God to have compassion on her. And an angel of God met her, as she was going on her way in the wilderness, and bade her return to her master and mistress, for if she would be more discreet she would be happier, for her present trouble only came from her unfeeling arrogance to her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on her way, she would perish; but if she returned back, she would become the mother of a son, who should reign over that country. To this she listened, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards she bare Ishmael, which may be interpreted heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

§ 5. The forementioned son was born to Abraham when he was eighty-six years old; but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarah, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and revealed to him, that from him should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born. The reason of circumcision I shall explain in another place. And on Abraham also inquiring concerning Ishmael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him, that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abraham, therefore, gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and

all his household, and his son Ishmael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

CHAP. XI.

How God overthrew the Nation of the Sodomites, being wroth against them for their Sins.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time, the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth: they were outrageous to men, and impious to God, insomuch that they no longer remembered his benefits, and hated strangers, and declined all intercourse with them. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow in it.

§ 2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre [1] at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and begged them to put up at his abode, and accept of some refreshment. And when they agreed, he ordered cakes of the finest wheaten flour to be made at once, and he slew a calf, and roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating, and also asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was? And when he said, She was within, they said, They should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which Sarah laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God, and that one of them was sent to inform them about their future son, and two to inform them of the overthrow of the Sodomites.

[1] Now *Râmet el-Khulîl.*

§ 3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites, and rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated that he would not destroy the righteous and good with the wicked. And when God replied, that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of hospitality with him; for he was very kind to strangers, and had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw that the young men were of beautiful countenances, and that to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their abode with Lot, they thought of nothing but how to enjoy their beauty by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to bridle their lust, and not to act indecently to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust instead of the strangers; neither thus were they shamed out of their wicked desires.

§ 4. But God was so much displeased at their audacious wickedness, that he smote the men with blindness, so that they could not find the entrance into the house, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. And Lot, upon God's informing him of the impending destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and two daughters, who were still virgins; for those that were betrothed [1] to them were above the thoughts of going away, and deemed Lot's warning absurd. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country all round with similar burning, as I formerly said, when I wrote the Jewish War.[2] But Lot's wife, continually turning back to view the city as she went from it (being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it), although God had forbidden

[1] These *sons-in-law* to Lot, as they are called, Gen. xix. 12-14, might be so called because they were betrothed to Lot's daughters, though not yet married to them. See the note on Antiq. xiv. 13, § 1.—W.

[2] Jewish War, iv. 8, § 4.—W.

her to look back, was changed into a pillar of salt:[1] I have seen it, for it remains still. But Lot and his daughters fled to a certain small place on the verge of the fire, and settled in it: it is to this day called Zoar,[2] for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a small thing. There he lived a life of hardship from want of company, and dearth of provisions.

§ 5. And his daughters thinking that all mankind were destroyed, lay with their father, taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that the human race might not utterly fail. And they bore sons: the son of the elder was named Moab, which denotes a son by a father; the younger bore Ammon, which name denotes a son by a kinsman. The former was the founder of the Moabites, who are even still a great nation; the latter was the founder of the Ammonites; both dwell in Cœle-Syria.[3] Such then was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Ishmael, the Son of Abraham; and his Posterity the Arabians.

§ 1.

ABRAHAM now removed to Gerar[4] in Palestine, taking Sarah with him as his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before out of fear. For he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who also himself fell in love with Sarah, and was disposed to seduce her; but was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous illness, which befell him from God. Now when his physicians gave him up, he had a dream warning him

[1] This *pillar of salt* was, we see here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then, is also attested to by Clement of Rome, contemporary with Josephus; as also that it was so in the next century, is attested by Irenæus.—W.

[2] Now probably *Tell esh-Shagûr*, north of the Dead Sea, at the foot of the hills east of Jordan.

[3] Now *el-Bakâ'a*.

[4] Now the ruin *Umm Jerrar*, six miles south of Gaza.

not to outrage the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted his illness upon him by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger, and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for he did not take her with him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person was secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, he sent for Abraham at the advice of his friends, and bade him not be concerned any longer about his wife's chastity; for God took care of him, and it was by his providence that he received his wife back intact. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience, that he would have had no inclination for her at all, if he had known she was married, but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no crime. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and said if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but if he preferred to go away, he should have an escort and whatever he came to him for. On his saying this, Abraham told him, that his claim of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his illness, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money, and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called Beersheba,[1] which may be interpreted, The well of the oath: and so it is called by the people of the country unto this day.

§ 2. Not long after Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies laughter. And indeed he so called him, because Sarah laughed when God[2] said that she should bear a son, she

[1] Now *Bir es-Seb'a*.

[2] It is well worth observation, that Josephus here calls the principal angel, who appeared to Abraham, and foretold the birth of Isaac, directly *God;* which language of Josephus here, prepares us to believe those other expressions of his, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, Antiq. xviii. 3, § 3, and of God *the Word*, in his Homily concerning Hades, may be both genuine.—W.

not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that their son was born to them in the last year of each of those numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day: and since that time the Jews observe the custom of circumcising their sons after so many days. But the Arabians circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, the son of Abraham by the concubine, was circumcised at that age. And of him I shall now give a full account with great exactness.

§ 3. Sarah at first loved Ishmael, the son of her handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up as the future head of the family. But after the birth of Isaac, she was not willing that Ishmael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him a mischief when their father should be dead; she therefore urged Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it the greatest barbarity to send away a young child and a woman without necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah insisted on, so he handed over Ishmael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself, and commanded her to take a skin of water and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, making necessity her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fir-tree, and went on a little further, that so he might not die in her presence. But an angel of God met her, and pointed out a well hard by, and bade her take care and bring up the child, for she should be very happy in the preservation of Ishmael. She then took courage from what was promised her, and meeting with some shepherds, by their care escaped from her piteous plight.

§ 4. When the lad grew up to man's estate he married an Egyptian wife, of the same nationality as his mother. By her he had twelve sons, Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Massamas, Idumas, Masmas, Masses, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphæsus, Cedmas. They inhabited all the country from

the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. They have handed down their names to the Arab nation and tribes, both because of their own prowess, and the fame of Abraham.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham.

§ 1.

NOW his father Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten son, and given to him on the threshold of old age by the gift of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more by the exercise of every virtue, adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed all his happiness in the prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave his son in a secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: who, being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and how his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and asked him to offer up to him this son of his as a sacrifice and victim. He bade him take him to Mount Moriah, and build an altar there, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that would best manifest his religious disposition towards him if he preferred what was pleasing to God to the preservation of his own son.

§ 2. Now Abraham thought it was not right to disobey God in anything, but to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all living creatures owe their life to his providence and bounty. So concealing this command of God, and his own intention to slay his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he might have been hindered from obeying God, he took Isaac and two of his servants, and laded an ass with whatever was necessary for a sacrifice, and started for the mountain. Now the servants went along with him two days; but on

the third day, as soon as he descried the mountain, he left them in the plain, and taking his son alone with him, went to the mountain. It was the mountain upon which king David afterwards fixed the site of the temple. Now they had brought with them everything necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the victim. And as Isaac, who was twenty-five years old, was preparing the altar, he asked his father, "What he was about to offer, since there was no victim?" to which he answered, "That God would provide *one* for them, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men even out of non-existing things,[1] and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust in them; so, if God pleased to be present and propitious at the sacrifice, he would provide him a victim."

§ 3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid the wood in order on it, and all things were ready, he said to his son, "My boy, I poured forth to God ten thousand prayers that I might have you for my son: and when you came into the world, I paid the greatest attention to your education, nor did I deem myself happy in anything more than in the prospect of seeing you grow up to man's estate, and leaving you at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became your father, and it is now his will that I relinquish you, bear this consecration to God with a noble mind; for I resign you to God, who has thought fit now to claim this honour for himself, on account of the favours he hath conferred on me in being to me a supporter and defender. And as your birth was extraordinary, so your leaving the world will be also, being solemnly offered to God, the father of all, by your own father as a sacrifice. I take it he thinks you worthy to die neither by disease, nor in war, nor by any of those casualties by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive your soul with prayers and sacrifice, and will place you near to himself, and you will there be a succourer and supporter to me in my old age, for which end I chiefly educated you, supplying me with God instead of yourself."

§ 4. Now Isaac was of such a noble disposition, as be-

[1] For *καὶ* I conjecture *κἀκ* with confidence.

came the son of such a father, and was pleased with his words, and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at all, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their wills, since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed would have been done, if God had not stopped it: for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said that it was not out of a desire for human blood that he had commanded him to slay his son, nor did he wish to act so impiously as to take away the son he had given him, but only to try the temper of his mind, whether he would obey such a command. Since, therefore, he was now satisfied of his zeal and excessive piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in honouring his race; and that his son should live to a very great age, and should have a happy life, and bequeath large possessions to sons, who should be good and legitimate. He foretold also that his family should become many nations, and be very wealthy, and that the patriarchs of the family should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan by war, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, that they had not noticed before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac, being restored to one another beyond their hopes, and having obtained promises of such great blessings, embraced one another, and when they had sacrificed, returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning Sarah, Abraham's Wife, and how she ended her Days.

§ 1.

NOW Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron, the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place, a piece of ground which Abraham bought for four hundred shekels of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

CHAP XV.

How the Nation of the Troglodytes sprang from Abraham's Marriage with Keturah.

§ 1.

ABRAHAM after this married Keturah, by whom he had six sons, industrious and clever: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josobak, and Suus. Now the sons of Suus were Sabathan and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were Ephas, Ophren, Anoch, Ebidas, and Eldas. Now Abraham contrived to settle all these sons and grandsons in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis,[1] and the country of Arabia Felix,[2] as far as the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya and occupied it, and that his grandchildren, who inhabited it, called it from his name Africa. And, indeed, Alexander Polyhistor bears me out in the following passage: "Cleodemus, the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement

[1] Apparently the district to the south of Petra; see Antiq. ii. 11, § 1, where Jethro's daughters are alluded to as being in the country of the Troglodites.

[2] According to Josephus, Antiq. xiv. 1, § 4, Arabia bordered on the province of Judæa.

with the History of Moses their legislator, relates that there were several sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. He says that from Surim the land of Assyria[1] got its name, and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the town of Aphra and the country of Africa got named; and that they helped Hercules when he fought against Libya and Antæus; and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and by her had a son Didorus, whose son was Sophon, from whom the barbarous people called Sophacians got their name."

CHAP. XVI.

How Isaac took Rebekah to Wife.

§ 1.

NOW when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to get Rebekah, the granddaughter of his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was now about forty years old, he sent the oldest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given in the following manner:—They put each other's hands under each other's thighs; and then called upon God to witness what should be done. He also sent presents to those that were there, that were valuable because either rarely or never seen in that country. The servant did not get there under a considerable time; for Mesopotamia[2] is a difficult country to travel in, in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water, and also for the bands of robbers there, only to be avoided by travellers by great precaution beforehand. However, the servant got safely to Haran.[3] And when he was in the suburbs, he met several maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God that Rebekah might be one of

[1] To the north of Babylonia; the country round Mosul.

[2] The Aram Naharaim of Gen. xxiv. 10; the northern part of the country between the Euphrates and Tigris.

[3] *Harran.*

them whom Abraham had sent him to betroth to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should come about, and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that while others denied him water to drink, she should offer it.

§ 2. With this intention he went to the well, and asked the maidens to give him some water to drink. But while the others refused, saying they wanted to take it home, and not to supply him (for the water was not drawn up without some difficulty), one only of them all rebuked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger, and said, "What is there that you will ever communicate to anybody, who will not so much as give the man some water?" She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that all would go well, but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not hesitate to supply water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and "may they marry you," added he, "to their satisfaction, into the family of a good husband, to bear him legitimate children." Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him about her family. "They," says she, "call me Rebekah, my father was Bethuel, but he is dead, and Laban is my brother, who with my mother takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity." When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing a necklace, and some other ornaments which were becoming for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. He asked also that he might come and lodge with them, since the approach of night allowed him not to proceed further. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said he could trust them to none more safely, than to such as she had showed herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the kindliness of her brother and

mother, from the virtue he found in her, that they would not object to take him in, for he would not be burdensome, but would pay for his lodging, and live at his own expense. To which she replied, that he guessed rightly as to the kindliness of her parents; but chided him for suspecting them of meanness, for he should be at free cost. But she said she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave his consent, she would conduct him in.

§ 3. As soon then as his consent was got, she introduced the stranger; and as for his camels, the servants of Laban took them and looked after them, and he was himself brought into supper by Laban. And, after supper, he said to him, and to the mother of the damsel, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours, for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham by the same father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the richest of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but out of regard to his own relations, he desired to match him here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other things happened in my journey, and that I found your daughter and house. For when I was near to the city I saw several maidens coming to the well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which came to pass accordingly. Do you therefore ratify that marriage, which has been already sanctioned by divine interposition; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, by giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." And they understood it to be the will of God, for they greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter as was desired. And Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the sons of Abraham by Keturah were gone to their colonies.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Death of Abraham.

§ 1.

A LITTLE while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God as his piety deserved. He lived one hundred and seventy-five years, and was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, and their Birth and Bringing-up.

§ 1.

NOW Isaac's wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham, and as she was very big, Isaac was anxious, and inquired of God; who told him that Rebekah should bear twins, and that two nations should take the names of those sons, and that he who seemed the lesser should excel the bigger. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins, the elder of whom from his head to his feet was very hairy, but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, or Seir, a name agreeable to his hairiness, which the Hebrews called Seir; but the younger, Jacob, was best beloved by his mother.

§ 2. And when there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went instead to Gerar, for so God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly been his guest and friend. And at first he treated him very kindly, but he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end by envy; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him out of his kingdom. And

he, seeing how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called The Valley, not far from Gerar:[1] and as he was digging a well, the king's shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him. And he retired still further, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired; thus purchasing security to himself by rational prudence. At length accident[2] permitting him to dig a well without disturbance, he named this well Rehoboth,[3] which denotes room; and of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes strife, the other Sitenna, which signifies enmity.

§ 3. And now Isaac's affairs were in a flourishing condition from his great riches. So Abimelech, thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring seemed to show a secret enmity also, was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac would not secure him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly sustained, so he renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Phicol, one of his generals. And when he had obtained everything he desired owing to Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had showed to himself and his father to his later wrath, he returned home.

§ 4. Now when Esau, the favourite son of Isaac, was forty years old, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Alibamah, the daughter of Esebeon, who were men of great rank among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the sole responsibility for his marriage, without asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been consulted, he would not have given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any affinity with the people of that country; but not wishing to incur his son's hatred by commanding him to put away those wives, he resolved to be silent.

[1] The valley not far from Gerar, *Umm Jerrar*, is supposed to lie between *Ruheibeh*, Rehoboth, and *Khalasa*, Elusa.

[2] Reading *τοῦ αὐτομάτου*.

[3] *Ruheibeh*.

§ 5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his old age hindered him from the worship of God; he bade him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to make him a meal, that after it he might make supplication to God to support and assist him during the whole of his life, saying, that it was uncertain when he should himself die, and that he was desirous, by his prayers for him, to procure beforehand the favour of God for him.

§ 6. Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But Rebekah, thinking to obtain the favour of God for Jacob, and that against the wish of Isaac, bade him kill some kids of the goats, and prepare a meal of them. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the meal was got ready, he took a goat's skin and put it about his arm, that, by reason of its hairiness, he might be believed by his father to be Esau: for they, being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this respect. This he did out of fear, lest before his father made his supplications, he should be detected in his guile, and provoke his father to curse him instead of bless him. So he brought in the meal to his father. Isaac, perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with a goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet, because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So, suspecting no deceit, he ate the meal, and betook himself to prayers and intercession with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst give to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have, and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings: do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me because of my present weak condition, on account of which I the more need thy help. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him, and keep him from everything that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good

things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honoured and beloved by his friends."

§ 7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau; and he had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau asked that he might obtain the like blessing from his father that his brother had got; but his father refused, because all his prayers had been expended upon Jacob: so Esau bitterly grieved over the mistake. So his father being moved at his weeping, said, that he should excel in hunting, and strength of body, and in arms, and in all his actions, and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him, but still should serve his brother.

§ 8. Now his mother delivered Jacob, when he was afraid that his brother would take vengeance on him because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac, for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob of her own kindred out of Mesopotamia, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ishmael, without his father's consent, for the fact that Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him, and also because he was very much in love with her.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Jacob's Flight into Mesopotamia, by reason of the fear he was in of his Brother; and how he Married there, and had Twelve Sons, and returned to Canaan.

§ 1.

NOW Jacob was sent by his mother into Mesopotamia to marry her brother Laban's daughter (which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his complaisance to the wishes of his wife), and he journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of

them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. And he saw in his sleep the following vision close to him: he seemed to see a ladder, that reached from earth to heaven, and persons descending down it, that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, and, calling him by his name, spoke to him in these words:—

§ 2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father a happy man, nor will I bestow less happiness on thyself. Be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on thy journey, for the intended marriage shall take place. And thou shalt have noble sons, and their descendants shall be innumerable, and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and they shall fill the entire earth and sea that the sun looks on. And do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still more in the time to come."

§ 3. Such things did God foretell to Jacob: whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard, and poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifice upon them, if he could get his living and returned safe: and if he came again in peace, he would give the tenth of what he had got to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name Bethel,[1] which in Greek signifies House of God.

§ 4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds

[1] Now *Beitîn*, nine and a half miles north of Jerusalem.

in the suburbs, and youths and maidens sitting by a certain well, he stayed with them, as if desirous to drink; and beginning a conversation with them, he asked them, whether they knew anyone called Laban, and whether he was still alive? And they all said they knew him, for he was not such a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, "for from her," said they, "you may learn more exactly whatever you desire to know about the family." As they were saying this, the damsel came up accompanied by some shepherds. They then showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger who came to enquire about her father. And she, pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and whence he came to them? and by what necessity he had been moved to come there? She also hoped it might be in their power to supply his wants.

§ 5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their relationship or the affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so great that few of the women of that age could equal it. He said at last, "There is a relationship between us older than either of our births, if you are the daughter of Laban, for Abraham, as well as Haran and Nahor, was the son of Terah. And Bethuel your grandfather was the son of Nahor. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later pledge of relationship which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebekah was own sister to Laban your father, so we are first cousins. And I am now come to salute you all, and to renew our relationship." And she, remembering she had heard a good deal from her father about Rebekah (as young people are likely to hear family history), and knowing that her parents loved her name, in her filial love wept and embraced Jacob, and after this affectionate greeting told him, that he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, and indeed all their family; as for her father, he was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, "this," she added, "will make thee equal in his eyes to any advan-

tage whatever." Then she bade him go at once to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure by loitering on the way any longer.

§ 6. When she had said this, she brought him to Laban; and, being owned by his uncle, he felt secure himself as being among friends, and brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected arrival. And not many days afterwards Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he enquired of him the reason of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted all his care and attention; he said also that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole reason of his journey, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; and that Esau, because he lost his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were offered up for him, sought to kill him, as being deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him by God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the reason of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do; for we are all (says he) brethren one to another, and my mother prefers my marrying into your family rather than into one of the families of Canaan, so I look upon you and God to be my supporters in my new home, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

§ 7. Then Laban promised to treat him with all kindness, on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his love, even though she was absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him overseer over his flocks, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and, should he have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and such honour as the nearness of their relationship demanded. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly undergo any labour to please him while he tarried with him, but asked as his wages the hand of Rachel, who was esteemed by him not only on other accounts, but also because she was the means of his coming to him (for he was

forced by love for the damsel to make this proposal). Laban was well pleased with these terms, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of having married his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, it was agreed he should stay seven years; for so many years he had to serve his father-in-law, that, having thus given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob accepting of his terms, when the time had expired, Laban made the wedding-feast; and, when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was not only older than Rachel, but of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, being in drink, and misled by the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for the wrong done to him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he had not given him Leah out of any ill design, but overcome by a weighty reason;[1] that, notwithstanding this, nothing need hinder him from marrying Rachel; for, when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone by he had Rachel to wife.

§ 8. Now each of these had handmaids given them by their father. Zilpah was handmaid to Leah, and Bilhah to Rachel; they were by no means slaves,[2] but subject to their mistresses. Now Leah was sorely troubled at her husband's passionate love to her sister, and expected she herself would be better esteemed if she bore him children: so she entreated God per-

[1] I suppose that alleged in Genesis, xxix. 26.

[2] Here we have the difference between *slaves* for life, and servants, such as we now hire for a time, agreed upon on both sides, and dismissed again after the time contracted for is over. Accordingly, when the Apostolical Constitution forbids a clergyman to marry *perpetual servants, or slaves,* b. vi. ch. xvii., it is meant only of the former sort: as we learn elsewhere from the same Constitutions, ch. xlvii. can. lxxxii. —W.

petually: and, when she had borne a son, and her husband paid a little more attention to her on that account, she named her son Reuben, because God had had mercy upon her, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bore three more sons: Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer; Levi, which means confirmer of union; and Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilhah. By her Jacob had Dan; one may interpret that name in the Greek tongue a divine judgment; and after him Nephthalim, which means unconquerable in stratagem, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. But Leah took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister, for she put to bed to Jacob her own handmaid. So he had by Zilpah a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortuitous; and after him Asher, which may be said to signify enviable, because he added glory to Leah. Now Reuben, the eldest son of Leah, brought some apples of the mandrake to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her them, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bade her be content that she had deprived her of the love of her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her, and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Leah to oblige Rachel. She bore then these sons: Issachar, denoting one born by hire; and Zabulon, which signifies a pledge of good will; and a daughter, Dinah. After some time, Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another son added to him.

§ 9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he made up his mind to do it secretly. He made trial, therefore, of the disposition of his wives, as to what they thought of this journey. As they approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods which they used to worship

as their country's gods, and ran away, together with her sister. The children also, both of them, and the handmaids, and the possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know. Now the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship, was, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order to obtain his pardon.

§ 10. But Laban hearing on the third day of Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them with a band of men; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them encamped on a certain hill; and then, indeed, he did not meddle with them, for it was eventide; and God appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to treat his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon anything rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he despised their small number, and attacked them in a hostile manner, he would himself assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he invited Jacob the next day to a colloquy, and told him what dream he had had; in dependence whereon Jacob went confidently to him. Then Laban began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had; "For," said he, "I joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that in consequence of this your goodwill to us would be greater than before; but you have paid no regard either to your own mother's relationship to me, nor to the affinity between us, nor to the wives whom you married, nor to the children of whom I am the grandfather, but have treated me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle, and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home with you those sacred family gods, which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured by myself with the like worship which they paid them. In short, you have done what even enemies would shrink from doing in war, though my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband

of my daughters, and after being hospitably treated by me, and eating at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence: "That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, for he had made it innate in all men, and therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long a time, he should desire to go back to his. And as for the cattle, of whose driving away you accuse me, if any other person were the arbitrator, you would be found in the wrong; for, instead of the thanks I ought to have had from you, for both keeping your cattle, and increasing them, how is it that you are unjustly angry at me, because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? And, as to your daughters, know that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they accompany me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow, indeed, not so much me as their own children." And thus much he said to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added a counter-complaint and accusation of Laban, saying, "Though I was your sister's son, and you had given me your daughters in marriage, you have worn me out with harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That, indeed, which was required in order to my marrying your daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been lighter, but your conduct to me after those marriages was worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." And certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was with him in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes those of a white colour, and sometimes those of a black, but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, for he envied him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it came, he deceived him.

§ 11. But as to the sacred images, he bade him search for them; and, as Laban accepted his offer, Rachel, learning of it, put those images into the camel's saddle on which

she rode, and sat upon them, and said that her menses prevented her rising up: so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach those images. So he made a covenant with Jacob, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened, and Jacob made the like covenant, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these covenants they made on a certain mountain, whereon they erected a pillar in the form of an altar: whence that hill is called Gilead;[1] and so they call that land the land of Gilead to this day. Now when they had feasted after their mutual covenant, Laban returned home.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.

§ 1.

NOW, as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and he called that place the Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent on messengers to investigate everything, being afraid on account of their former jealousy. And he charged those that were sent on to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live with him whilst he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that now, thinking the long time of his absence must have reconciled them, was returning home; that he brought with him his wives and his children, with the substance he had got, and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to share with his brother what God had bestowed upon him." And those messengers told Esau this message. Upon which he was very glad, and went to meet his brother with

[1] The mountainous district east of Jordan, lying bewteen Bashan on the north, and Moab and Ammon on the south.

four hundred armed men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of armed men, was greatly afraid: however, he relied for deliverance on God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies, if they attacked him unjustly. He therefore divided his company into two parts: some he sent on before the rest, and the others he ordered to follow close behind, that so, if the first were overpowered, if his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed to make good their retreat. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some forward to carry presents to his brother. They consisted of beasts of burden, and a quantity of animals of various kinds, such as would be very valuable to those that received them on account of their rarity. Those who were sent on with these went apart at certain intervals, that by following close after one another, they might appear to be more numerous, for he thought that Esau would remit his anger on account of these presents, if he were still angry. Instructions were also given to those that were sent on to speak him fair.

§ 2. When Jacob had made these arrangements all the day, as night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they crossed over a certain stream called Jabbok,[1] Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle: and he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice and spoke to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome a divine angel, and to consider his victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him; and that his offspring should never fail, and that no man should be too strong for him. He also bade him call himself Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with an angel. This however he foretold him at the entreaty of Jacob; for, when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he begged he would tell him what should befall him hereafter.

[1] Now *Wâdy Zerka*, an eastern affluent of the Jordan.

And when the angel had told him all this, he disappeared; but Jacob was pleased with these things, and called the place Phanuel,[1] which signifies the face of God. Now as he felt pain from his struggling upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterwards, and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

§ 3. When Jacob heard that his brother was at hand, he ordered his wives to go forward, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see at a distance the fight, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up and bowed down to his brother Esau, who had no evil design upon him, but embraced him, and asked him about the company of the children and women; and proposed, when he had learned all he wanted to know about them, to go along with him to their father; but, Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir,[2] for there was his place of habitation, and he had named the place Rough from his own hairy roughness.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Violation of Dinah's Chastity.

§ 1.

THEN Jacob came to the place, till this day called Booths [Succoth],[3] from whence he went to Shechem,[4] which is a city of the Canaanites. Now, as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dinah, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for wife. And he assented, and went to Jacob, and asked him that his son Shechem might marry Dinah according to law. But Jacob, not knowing

[1] The Penuel of Gen. xxxii. 30; it was probably on the northern slope of *Jebel Osha*.

[2] The mountainous country round Petra; see Antiq. iv. 4, § 7.

[3] Probably *Tell Dar'ala*, east of Jordan.

[4] Now *Nâblus*, in the valley between Ebal and Gerizûn.

how to deny his request owing to his position, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to deliberate about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, hoping that Jacob would allow this marriage. And Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the wish of Hamor; and desired them to advise what to do. Upon this most said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the uterine brothers of the damsel, agreed between themselves upon the following action. As it was now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were engaged in relaxation and feasting, they first fell upon the watch by night when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males, including the king and his son, but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's sanction, they brought away their sister.

§ 2. Now while Jacob was dismayed at the daring of this act, and indignant with his sons for it, God stood by him, and bade him be of good courage, and purify his tents, and offer those sacrifices which he had vowed when he set out for Mesopotamia, and saw the vision. As he was, therefore, purifying his company, he lit upon the gods of Laban (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel), and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel,[1] the place where he saw his dream when he first started for Mesopotamia.

§ 3. And going on from thence, when he got near Ephratah,[2] he buried Rachel there, who died in childbed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And he mourned for her greatly, and called the son that was born of her Benjamin,[3] because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males and one female.

[1] *Beitîn.* [2] The original name of Bethlehem, now *Beit Lahm.*

[3] Since Benoni signifies 'the son of my sorrow,' and Benjamin, 'the son of days,' or 'one born in the father's old age,' Gen. xliv. 20, I suspect Josephus' present copies to be here imperfect, and suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote that Rachel called her son's name Benoni, but his father called him Benjamin, Gen. xxxv. 18.—W.

Of the sons, eight were legitimate, six by Leah, and two by Rachel; and four were by the handmaids, two by each; all whose names I have set down already.

CHAP. XXII.

How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.

§ 1.

FROM thence Jacob went to Hebron,[1] a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and they lived together for a little while; but as to Rebekah, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the arrival of his son, and was buried by his sons near his wife in Hebron, where they had their family burying-place. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved by God, and was very providentially taken care of by God, after the death of Abraham his father; and lived to be exceedingly old: for he died when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years.

[1] *El-Khulil.*

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I.

How Esau and Jacob, the Sons of Isaac, divided their Habitation; Esau possessing Idumæa, and Jacob Canaan.

§ 1.

AFTER the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumæa. He called the country Edom [1] from his own name of Edom, which he got on the following occasion. One day, returning from the toil of hunting very hungry (it was when he was a boy in age), he found his brother was getting ready for his dinner lentil-pottage, which was of a very red colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat; and he took advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him for it his birthright, and he, being famished with hunger, resigned it up to him with an oath. So it came about that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, called by his contemporaries Edom, for the Hebrews call what is red Edom; and that was the name he gave the country; but the Greeks gave it the more euphonious name of Idumæa.

§ 2. Esau became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jeglomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Olibamah; and of the others, Eliphaz was born to him by Adah, and Raguel by Basemmath. And these were the sons of Esau. Eliphaz had five legitimate sons, Theman.

[1] The district east of the *Wâdy 'Arabah*, of which Petra was the capital.

Omar, Sophar, Gotham, and Kenez; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamnaa. These dwelt in that part of Idumæa which was called Gobolitis, and that called Amalekitis,[1] from Amalek; for Idumæa was a large country, and so preserved the name of Edom for the whole country, while in its several parts it kept the names of its particular inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's Sons, was envied by his Brothers, when certain Dreams had foreshown his future Happiness.

§ 1.

IT happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any person has arrived at. He was richer than the original inhabitants of the country; and was at once envied and admired for the virtues of his sons, for they came short in nothing, but were stout-hearted both in manual labour and enduring of toil, and of good understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and took such care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful conditions; and to make him and his sons the cause of our forefathers' departure into Egypt.[2] The occasion was this. When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. The affection of his father excited the envy and hatred of his brothers; as did also the dreams which he saw and related to his father and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy even their nearest relations their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these.

[1] The distinction here is, apparently, between the 'mountain land,' Gobolitis, east of the *'Arabah*, and the level desert country to the west of it, in which the Amalekites lived. Both districts formed part of the later Idumæa.

[2] The critical reader will see I have changed *ἀπὸ* into *ἐπί*.

§ 2. When it was the season of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brothers, to gather in the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream very different to the ordinary dreams that come when we are asleep; which, when he got up, he told his brothers, that they might judge what it meant. He said he saw in a dream the previous night, that his wheatsheaf stood in the place where he had put it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as slaves bow down to their masters. But as they perceived the dream foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and authority over them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if it were not understood by them, but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass, and they bore still greater hatred to him.

§ 3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon and the rest[1] of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father, and suspecting no ill-will on the part of his brothers, desired him, when they were present, to interpret what it signified. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream: for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of obeisance by his parents and brothers, guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things; and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, and received their power from the sun and moon.

§ 4. And thus did Jacob make a shrewd judgment of this vision. But these predictions caused very great grief to Joseph's brothers; and they felt to him as if he were some stranger, that was to have those good things which

[1] Perhaps ἑνδεκὰ should be read here, instead of λοιποὺς, as at end of section.

were signified by the dreams, and not as to a brother, with whom it was probable they would go shares, as partners alike in the same parentage and prosperity. So they resolved to kill the lad, and having fully made up their minds, as soon as the harvest was gathered in they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; and there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their departure there. So not knowing where his sons were, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state of things, he grew melancholy and anxious about them, and sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn all about his brothers, and to bring back word how they did.

CHAP. III.

How Joseph was sold by his Brothers into Egypt, by reason of their Hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his Brothers in his Power.

§ 1.

NOW they rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, and that sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands; and they at once resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reuben, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and all of one mind to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinousness and horrid nature of the deed; that it appeared wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even to kill one not related to them; but far more flagitious would it appear to slay their own brother,—an outrage to the father, and a bitter sorrow to the mother, to lose their son in such an unnatural way. He entreated them, therefore, to reverence them, and to consider what anguish they would suffer at the death of their favourite and youngest son, and to desist from their cruel intention, and to fear God, who was already both a spectator and witness of the designs they

had against their brother, and would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they carried it out, there was no vengeance which God would not exact from them for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was everywhere present, and did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wherever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them further, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to carry out so wicked a deed, and that they could never escape conscience, whether it were a good one, or whether it were such a one as they would have within them when once they had killed their brother. He also added to what he had before said, that it was not a right thing to kill a brother, even though he had injured them; that it was well not to bear malice to such near friends, even when they did seem to have given reasonable cause for offence; but they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, and whose tender age should rather procure mercy and protection from them. He said also that the motive for killing him made their act much worse, as they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity, an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were not strangers to him, but the nearest relations; so they might reckon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it behoved them to think that the anger of God would, for this cause, be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that expected prosperity, and so made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

§ 2. Reuben said this and much more, and used entreaties to them, and endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, but they were urgent to do the deed, he advised them to alleviate their wickedness in the manner of killing Joseph; for, as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, not to do so, so, since the sentence for killing their brother prevailed, he said, that they would not be so grossly guilty if they would be persuaded to follow his

present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so bad, but in their emergency a lighter crime. He begged them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into a pit that was hard by, and so let him die; by which they would gain this much, that they would not defile their own hands with blood. To this the young men readily agreed: so Reuben took the lad, and tied him with a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; and when he had done this, he went to seek for pastures for their flocks.

§ 3. But Judah, another of Jacob's sons, seeing some Arabian merchants, of the posterity of Ishmael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, urged his brothers, after Reuben was gone, to haul up Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to these Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they would be free from the guilt of his blood. This, therefore, was resolved on: so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty minæ. He was now seventeen years old. But Reuben came in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph without the knowledge of his brothers; and when upon his calling to him he made no answer, he was afraid that they had killed him after he was gone; and accused his brothers of the murder. But when they told him what they had done, Reuben left off mourning.

§ 4. When Joseph's brothers had acted in this way to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had stripped off from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought it well to tear that coat to pieces, and dip it in goat's blood, and then take and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they went to the old man, who by this time knew that something must have happened to his son, and said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody, and torn to pieces, so they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so

perished, if that was the coat he had on when he started from home. Now Jacob had before some slight hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that his coat was an evident proof that he was dead, for he well remembered that that was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brothers; so he ever after lamented the lad as dead. And as if he had been the father of only one son, without taking any comfort in the rest, he was as much affected with his misfortune as before he conversed with Joseph's brothers, when he conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down in sackcloth, and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did he tire of his sorrow through time.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the remarkable Chastity of Joseph.

§ 1.

NOW Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants who sold him, and held him in all honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to enjoy a better diet than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before upon this change in his condition, but he showed that prudence can control the ills of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only adopt it in temporary prosperity.

§ 2. For when his master's wife fell violently in love with him, both on account of his beauty, and dexterity in affairs, and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she could easily persuade him to lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of good fortune that his mistress should solicit him, she regarding his state of slavery, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed, she made known her passion

for him, and proposed his lying with her. However, he rejected her overtures, thinking it criminal to yield so far to her as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him who had bought him, and bestowed so much honour on him. So he besought her to govern her passion, and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding: and he said, that as for himself, he would endure anything whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, disobedience in such a case had much excuse. But this refusal of Joseph's, as she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with her passion, she resolved to compass her ends by a second attempt.

§ 3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, which it was the custom for women to attend and join in its festivities, she pretended to her husband that she was not well, seeking for solitude and leisure, that she might solicit Joseph again: which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before, and said, that it would have been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the respect he ought to bear to her who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, which forced her, though his mistress, to condescend beneath her dignity: but that he might now by more prudent action gain pardon for his former folly; for whether it were, that he expected the repetition of her solicitations, she had now made it, and that with greater earnestness than before, for she had pretended to be ill, and had preferred his company to the festival and its festivities; or whether he opposed her former overtures from distrust, she now gave him sufficient security, by thus continuing her suit, that she meant not to impose upon him: and assured him that, if he complied with her desires, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had, and, if he hearkened to her, he should have greater advantages still, but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her in case he rejected her suit, and preferred the reputation of chastity

to gratifying his mistress. Nor would he gain anything by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he had attempted her chastity; and Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

§ 4. When the woman had said this, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, being afraid to do a wicked act; and he chose to undergo the worst rather than to enjoy the present by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve death. He also reminded her that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and besought her to let these considerations have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would end in trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear of being caught in the act, and that their only gratification would be not being found out while their wickedness was not known, while she might have the enjoyment of her husband without any danger. He told her also, that in going with her husband she might have great boldness from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act more like his mistress, and make better use of her authority over him, while she continued chaste, than she could after he had outraged her modesty, and that it was much better to depend on one's good life being well known, than on undetected wickedness.

§ 5. By saying this and more to like effect, Joseph tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to bring her lust to reason: but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter, and as she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him and had a mind to force him. But when Joseph got away from her furious lust, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her and leaped out of the chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the slight he had put on her; so she resolved

to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his terrible contempt of her charms; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to anticipate an accusation. So she sat dejected and in confusion, pretending in her anger, that the sorrow, which was really for being disappointed of her lust, was for an attempt upon her chastity; and, when her husband came home, and was troubled at her appearance, and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph, and said, "O husband, mayest thou not live a day longer, if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who desired to defile thy bed; who neither remembered who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty, nor was he mindful of the favours he had received from thy bounty (and he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he in every respect behave well to us), but formed the design to abuse thy wife, and that at the festival time, watching for thy absence. So that it is now clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in from fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, or even hoped for, so that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, had liberty to touch thy wife also." And when she had ended speaking, she showed him his garment, as if he left it there when he attempted to force her. Then Potiphar, not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and the garment which he saw, and placing too much confidence in his wife owing to his love for her, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactors' prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bore witness to her modesty and chastity.

CHAP. V.

What befell Joseph in the Prison.

§ 1.

NOW Joseph, committing all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to any defence or account of the real circumstances, but silently underwent the bonds and distress; firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth, would be more powerful than those that put him in bonds; a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison, taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him: he also permitted him to enjoy a better diet than the rest of the prisoners. Now his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labour was over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are partners in trouble, and to inquiring one of another, what were the reasons of their being condemned. Among them the king's favourite cupbearer was put in bonds, owing to the king's anger, in the same part of the prison as Joseph, and grew intimate with him, and observing that Joseph had an excellent understanding, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

§ 2. He then said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, if he had any understanding in such matters, that he would tell him what the vision foretold. And he bade him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three

days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to his office again: for he let him know, that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and friendship among men, putting an end to quarrels, and taking away perturbation and grief from the minds of those that use it, and making them cheerful. "Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it; know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress within the same number of days as the branches had from which thou gatheredst the grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I foretold thee when thou hast found it come true, and when thou art in authority, do not overlook me in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave me, when thou art gone to the place I have foretold; for I am not in prison for any crime, but I was condemned for my virtue and chastity to suffer the punishment of malefactors, and because I was unwilling to injure him that has thus treated me for my own pleasure." The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited for the completion of what had been thus foreshown him.

§ 3. But there was another servant of the king, who had been chief baker, and was now in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he asked Joseph to tell him what the visions he had seen the night before meant. They were as follows:— "Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head, two full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but some birds came and swooped on them, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to scare them away." And he expected a similar prediction to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream signified, but he told him that he had only two days in all to live, for that the baskets signified that on the third day he

would be crucified, and devoured by birds, when unable to help himself. Now both these dreams had the very end that Joseph foretold they would have to both parties; for on the predicted day, when the king solemnized his birthday, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former office.

§ 4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember his predictions. God contrived the following method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same night two visions, and with them the interpretation of each. He had forgotten the latter, but remembered the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, he called together the next day the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But as they were in doubt about them, the king was so much the more troubled. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in the interpretation of dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in: so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said, and also how the chief baker was crucified on the very same day, and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph: that Joseph himself had been put in prison by Potiphar, who was over the cooks, as a slave; but he said that he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews, and that his father had great renown. "If, therefore," added he, "you will send for him, and not despise him on the score of his present misfortunes, you will learn what your dreams signify." So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence, and those who received the command went and fetched him, having attired him suitably according to the command of the king.

§ 5. Then the king took him by the right hand, and said, "O young man, as my servant bears witness that you are at present the best and most skilful person I can consult with, vouchsafe me the same favour which you be-

stowed on him, and tell me what the visions of my dreams foreshadow. I desire you not to suppress anything out of fear, or to flatter me with lying words to please me, if the truth is of a melancholy nature. Methought, as I walked by the river, I saw seven fat and very large kine going from the river to the marshes; and seven other kine met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favoured, which eat up the fat and large kine, and yet were no better than before, being miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision I woke from my sleep troubled, and considering with myself what this apparition meant, I fell asleep again and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which did still more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing on one stalk, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grain, and bending down with its ripeness, and near them I saw seven other ears of corn thin and weak for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were ripe, and put me into great astonishment."

§ 6. To which Joseph replied, "This dream, O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same condition of future things. For your seeing the kine, animals made for the plough and labour, devoured by the lean kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by smaller ears, both foretell a famine and dearth in Egypt for the same number of years as the years of plenty, so that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to relieve; as a sign whereof, the lean kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But God predicts what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may, by prudence, make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If you, therefore, carefully store up the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, you will so contrive that the future dearth will not be felt by the Egyptians."

§ 7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he could so store up the plentiful crops in the fertile years as to

make the dearth more tolerable. Joseph then suggested to spare the good crops, and not to permit the Egyptians to use them extravagantly, but to reserve what they would have spent in superfluous luxury against the time of want. He also urged Pharaoh to take the corn of the husbandmen, and to give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food. And Pharaoh, admiring Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with the management of everything, with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, believing that he, who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best to carry it out. And he, having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of the king's seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to everyone as would be sufficient for seed and for food, but without telling anyone the reason why he did so.

CHAP. VI.

How Joseph, when he was become famous in Egypt, had his Brethren in Subjection.

§ 1.

JOSEPH was now full thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honour from the king, who called him Psothom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom, for that name denotes 'finder out of secrets.' He also married a wife of very high quality, for he married the daughter of Petephres,[1] one of the priests of Heliopolis;[2] she was a

[1] This 'Petephres,' who was now a priest of On, or Heliopolis, is the same name in Josephus, and perhaps in Moses also, with him to whom Joseph was sold. They are also affirmed to be one and the same person in the same testament of Joseph, § 18, for he is there said to have married the daughter of his master and mistress. Nor is this a notion peculiar to that testament: but, as Dr. Bernard confesses, note on Antiq. ii. 4, § 1, common to Josephus, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews of old time.—W.

[2] The On of Gen. xli. 45 and xlvi. 20; called Bethshemesh in Jer.

virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had two sons before the scarcity came on, Manasseh, the elder, which signifies 'forgetful,' because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies 'restorer,' because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now, after Egypt had had seven prosperous years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them unexpectedly, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the mass of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that had abundance.

§ 2. So Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might use that market, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine, and indeed it touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, his son by Rachel, and uterine brother of Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing was done without his approbation; for even the honour that was paid the king himself was only advantageous to the persons that paid it when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now he recognized his brethren, though they had no idea it was him, for he was but a lad when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, so that he was not known to them, and the greatness of his dignity suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He therefore determined to make trial of their views on all matters. So he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they had come from several countries, and had joined themselves together, and only pretended that they were akin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many

xliii. 13, and Aven in Ezek. xxx. 17. The ruins of Heliopolis are about ten miles north-east of *Cairo*.

sons so distinguished looking, such a family not being easily reared by kings themselves. Now he did this in order to discover all about his father, and what had happened to him after his own departure, also wishing to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had plotted against him as they had done against himself, and had got rid of him also.

§ 3. And they were in great alarm and terror, and thought that the greatest danger hung over them; yet did not at all reflect about their brother Joseph, but stood firm under the accusations laid against them, and made their defence by Reuben, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman. "We came not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor to do any harm to the king's country, we only wanted to be preserved alive, supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you have established a market for the sale of corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, having determined to afford preservation to all that want it; and that we are brethren, and of the same blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not much different from one another, plainly show. Our father is Jacob, a Hebrew, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives, and, when we were all alive, we were a happy family; but when one of our brothers, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse, for our father made a long lamentation for him, and we are in affliction, both from the calamity of the death of this brother, and the misery of our aged father. And now we are come to buy corn, having left the care of our father and the management of the house to Benjamin our youngest brother. And you can learn, by sending to our house, whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

§ 4. Thus did Reuben endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But he, when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother Benjamin had not been destroyed by them, put them for the present in prison, as if intending to examine them more at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "Since you constantly affirm that

you are not come to do any harm to the king's country, and that you are brothers, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when you have carried corn to your father, you come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you, this I shall esteem a proof of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and kept deploring one among another their treatment of Joseph, and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for their plots against him." But Reuben severely reproached them for their too late repentance, which could do no good to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of vengeance on his account. Thus they spoke to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general dejection also seized on them at Reuben's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that his brothers should observe him, he retired; and after a while, came to them again, and detaining Symeon as a pledge for the brothers' return, he bade the rest take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of the corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did as he was commanded.

§ 5. Now when Jacob's sons got back to Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were supposed to have gone thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brothers, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go and be a proof of the truth of what they had said; and they begged their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with anything his sons had done, and was

especially vexed at the detention of Symeon, and thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reuben's supplication, though he gave Jacob leave to kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do; and there was another circumstance that disturbed them still more,—the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed, and the famine still afflicted them, and necessity almost forced him, Jacob could not [1] make up his mind to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. But their distress growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take under the circumstances. And Judah, who was of a bold temper upon other occasions, spoke his mind very freely to him. He said that it did not become him to be afraid on account of Benjamin, nor to suspect the worst, for nothing could happen to him but by the appointment of God, which could also certainly come to pass, though he were at home with him: that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction, nor deprive them of the abundance of food they might have from Pharaoh by his unreasonable fears about Benjamin, but ought also to think about the preservation of Symeon, lest he should perish by Benjamin's journey being put off. He exhorted him also to trust to God for him; and said, he would either bring Benjamin back to him safe, or together with him lose his own life." So Jacob was at last persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with double the price of the corn; he also sent presents to Joseph of the produce of the land of Canaan, balsam, and cinnamon, and turpentine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as also did they. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; and the old man was at last tired out with grief, and stayed behind; and they went on their way to Egypt,

[1] Supplying with Whiston the necessary *οὐ*.

endeavouring to counteract their grief for the present with hopes for the future.

§ 6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought before Joseph, and no small fear disturbed them lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. So they made profuse apology to Joseph's steward, and told him, that when they got home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it back with them. He said he did not know what they meant. So they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and attired him suitably, he permitted him to be with his brothers. And meantime Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents: and upon his asking them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, finding that Benjamin was alive, asked, Whether this was their younger brother? for he had seen him. And when they said he was, he replied, that God ruled over all things. But his affection to him making him shed tears, he retired, not wishing to be observed by his brothers. Then Joseph had them to dinner, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a portion to Benjamin double that of the rest of his guests.

§ 7. Now when after dinner they composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward not only to give them their measures of corn, but to hide the money again in their sacks, and also to put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup out of which he himself used to drink. Now this he did in order to make trial of his brothers, whether they would stand by Benjamin, when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger, or whether they would leave him, and, on the score of their own innocency, return to their father without him, When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way the next day, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause for joy, both because they had received him back again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen

surrounded them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected approach of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who, a little before, had been by their lord thought worthy of honour and hospitality? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgotten that very hospitality and kind treatment of Joseph, and had not scrupled to do an injury to him, by carrying off the cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, and had not regarded their friendship with Joseph, or the danger they would be in if they were detected, in comparison with unjust gain. Hereupon they threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him, who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had they got off safe with what they had stolen; and now they had the assurance to ask why they were followed after, as if they knew nothing of the matter: but they should soon know by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the steward say, by way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of anything that concerned them, mocked at what he said; and wondered at the idle talk of the steward, who made bold to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it back, though nobody else knew anything about it, so far were they from any idea of wilful fraud. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than denial of the fact, they bade them search them, and if any one of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spoke with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger also. The horsemen also desired search might be made; but they said that punishment should be inflicted only on him who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search, and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, knowing his was the sack in which they had hidden the cup, having indeed searched the rest only for a show of completeness; so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin,

but were still very confident that he also would be found innocent: and they reproached those that had pursued after them for their hindering them, when they might by now have got a good way on their journey. But as soon as they searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup at once; and all their tone changed to mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother would have to undergo for his theft, and for their own breach of promise to their father to bring Benjamin back safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came at a time when they thought they had got off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief their father would feel for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was himself averse to it.

§ 8. The horsemen then took Benjamin and brought him back to Joseph, his brethren also following. And he, when he saw him in custody, and them looking like mourners, said, "Whatever, vile wretches, were your ideas of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, for you to act so to your benefactor and host?" Whereupon they offered themselves for punishment to save Benjamin: and again called to mind their former wicked plot against Joseph, whom they pronounced more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life, and, if he were alive, that he had obtained God's vengeance upon them. They said further, they were their father's bane, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reuben also reproached them at length. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said they had been guilty of no offence, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment, for he said it was not right either to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended, or to punish them together with him who had been guilty of the theft. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were in great consternation, and speechless at the catastrophe. But Judah, who had persuaded their father to send the lad, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of

his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to you, and on that account deserve punishment, even all of us, although the theft was only committed by one of us, and he the youngest also; but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, from your goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg you will not look at us, or at the magnitude of the crime, but at your own nature, and take advice of virtue instead of anger, which those that are otherwise mean employ to add to their strength, and that not only on great, but also on trifling occasions. Be magnanimous, and be not subdued by anger so as to slay those that do not any longer presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from you. And this is not the first time that you will bestow it on us, for before when we came to buy corn, you afforded us great plenty of food quickly, and gave us leave to carry so much home to our family, as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not disregarding men that are perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and are envied for that glorious benefaction which they received from you. This will be the same favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for you will preserve this way those whom you did feed the other, and will preserve alive, by your bounty, those souls which you did not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby in our present distress we may continue those lives. And I think that God, wishing to afford you this opportunity of showing your virtuous disposition, brought us into this calamity, that it might be evident you could forgive injuries done to yourself; and be kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of your assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but it is a still more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of offences against yourself. For if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive and overlook such as have been guilty of small offences,

to restrain anger as to crimes which are capital to the guilty is to approximate to the nature of God. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father who showed in his sorrow for Joseph how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I should not have spoken any words to save our own lives, except so far as to praise your character, it being good for it to save alive even those that will have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatever you pleased: but now, for we do not plead for mercy for ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had much enjoyment in life, but in regard to our father, and pity for his old age, do we make these supplications to you, and beg for those lives, which this wickedness of ours has rendered liable to punishment. He is not himself wicked, nor did he beget us to be such, for he is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials; and now we are absent, he is afflicted with anxiety about us, and if he hear of our deaths, and the cause of it, he will die a premature death: and the infamy of our end will hasten his, and will bring him to a miserable death, for he will make haste to get into a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad to the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now justly provoke you to anger, and forgive it for our father's sake: and let your pity for him counterbalance our crime. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for so you will honour both your father and yourself also, who enjoy already that title, which will be preserved intact to you by God the Father of all, whom you will seem to honour as he shares the same name, by taking pity on our father, considering how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons. It is in your power, therefore, to bestow on us what God has given us (as it is also to take it away), and so to resemble him entirely in benignity; for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side; and though it is in your power to destroy, to forget that you ever had that power, and to look on yourself as only allowed power

for preservation; and that the more people anyone extends this power to, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, you will preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here we must partake of one and the same end. And so much we beg of you, O governor, that if you condemn our brother to die, you will punish us together with him, as if we were partners of his crime; for we shall not think it right to kill ourselves for grief at our brother's death, but rather to die as if we were equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with you one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. that our brother committed this fault when he was young, and not yet of ripe wisdom, and that men naturally forgive such. If then you condemn us, any omission of mine may be supposed to have hurt us, and made you take the severer view. But if you set us free, that may be ascribed to your own goodness, of which you are inwardly conscious, and that not by merely preserving us, but by granting us such a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, by your seeing more motives for our deliverance than we can ourselves. If, therefore, you mean to slay him, slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if you prefer to retain him with you as a slave, I am more serviceable to you in that capacity, and, as you see, am better prepared for either contingency." Then Judah, being very willing to undergo anything whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and tried all he could to assuage and pacify his anger. All the brothers also fell down before him weeping, and offered their own lives for that of Benjamin.

§ 9. But Joseph, overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brothers when they were alone. And when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brothers, and said, "I commend you for your virtue and kindness to our brother; I find you better men than I could have expected from your plot against me. Indeed, I

did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have, and, if he continue propitious to us, will hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well beyond my expectation, and I see you so well disposed to our brother, I no longer remember the guilt you seem to have had in my case, but will leave off to hate you for that wickedness, and rather return you thanks, that you have co-operated with the will of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also forget and rather be glad of your old folly, since it is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at your offence. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which followed, grieve you now, since those intentions were frustrated. Go therefore your way, rejoicing in what has happened by divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be worn out with anxiety for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity, by dying before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring therefore with you him, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitation hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from my prosperity, especially as the famine must endure five more years." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow at the remembrance of their conduct to him, but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave them no room for fear of punishment. And they then feasted with him. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad, as if it had been his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn, and gold and silver, to take to their father. And when they had received more from their brother, part to take to their father, and part as gifts for each of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

CHAP. VII.

The Removal of Joseph's Father, with all his Family, to him, on account of the Famine.

§ 1.

AS soon as Jacob learnt on his sons' return home all about Joseph, that he had not only escaped death, though he had mourned for him so long, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt with the king, and had almost all affairs intrusted to his care, he did not think anything he was told incredible, considering the greatness of the power of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had for some time been intermitted; so he immediately set out on his journey to Joseph.

§ 2. When he came to the well of the oath (*Beersheba*),[1] he offered sacrifice to God, and being afraid that their prosperity in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and think no more of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, if this migration to Egypt were made without the will of God, that his family might be destroyed there; fearing also that he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

§ 3. But God appeared to him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked who he was? God said, "It is not right that Jacob should not know that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to his forefathers, and after them to himself. For when your father would have deprived you of the position of head of the family, I gave it you, and by my kindness it was, that when you were sent into Mesopotamia all alone, you obtained good wives, and returned home with many children and much wealth. Your whole family also has been preserved by my providence, and it was I who conducted Joseph your son, whom you gave up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, with power little inferior to that

[1] *Bir es-Seb'a.*

of the king. And I now come to guide you on this journey, and to foretell to you that you shall die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform you, that your posterity shall be many ages in power and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

§ 4. Encouraged by this dream, Jacob went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and their children. They were in all seventy persons. I once indeed thought it best not to set down their names, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks], but upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention their names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came not originally out of Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph had already gone into Egypt. I will therefore set down the names of those that followed him, and their children. Reuben had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Symeon had six, Jamuel, Jamin, Jaod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judah had three sons, Sala, Phares, Zarah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom and Amur. Issachar had four sons, Thola, Phua, Jasub, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sarad, Elon, Jalel. All these are the posterity of Leah, with whom also went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, one of whom, Joseph, had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons, Bolosor, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Optais, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before mentioned amount to forty-seven in number. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Naphthali, which last had four sons, that followed him, Jesel, Guni, Issares, and Sellim. Dan had an only-begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpah, who was the handmaid of Leah. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, Ariel; Aser had a daughter Sarah, and six sons, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isui, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-

four, the fore-mentioned number (seventy) is made up, Jacob himself not being included in it.

§ 5. When Joseph heard that his father was coming, for Judah his brother went on before, and informed him of his approach, he went to meet him, and they met together at Heroopolis.[1] And Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to help being affected in the same manner by pleasure, yet was he not wholly overcome by his feelings as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brothers with him, and hasted on to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bade Joseph tell him what sort of life his brothers loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same; and he told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father, as also that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would clash with their pursuits, for the Egyptians were prohibited to feed sheep.

§ 6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his kingdom, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was? And when he answered that he was an hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis;[2] for there the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

§ 7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians, and this awful distress grew worse for them, because neither did the river irrigate the land, for it did not rise, nor did God send any rain upon it, nor had the people made the least provision for themselves in their ignorance, but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their

[1] The ancient Pithom, now *Tell el-Mahuta*, in Lower Egypt, on the railway from *Ismailia* to *Zagazig*.

[2] See p. 140, note 2.

cattle and slaves, and if any of them had a piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food. So the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their land might be secured to the king, excepting the lands of the priests, for they continued in their possession. And indeed the sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at last compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when the famine ceased, and the river overflowed the land, and it brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph went to every city, and gathered the people thereof together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed its fruits. He also exhorted them to look on it as their own possession, and to till it diligently, and to pay as tribute to the king the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king restored to them when it was his own. And they rejoiced upon thus becoming unexpectedly owners of their land, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means Joseph procured for himself greater esteem among the Egyptians, and greater goodwill to the king from them. And this law that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until the later kings.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1.

NOW when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell ill, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he had offered up prayers for their prosperity, and foretold to them prophetically that the posterity of every one of them should dwell in the land of Canaan, as indeed happened many years afterwards. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph, because he had not borne malice to his brothers for their treatment of him, but had been even more kind to them, and bestowed upon them such benefits

as are seldom paid back even to benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them: concerning whom I shall speak hereafter. And he requested that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full an hundred and forty-seven years, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those so good should have. And Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at great expense. Now his brothers were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid, now their father was dead, that he would take vengeance on them for their plot against him, since he was now gone for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he urged them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicion of him. So he brought them back with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his good-will to them.

§ 2. Joseph also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years: having been admirable for virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and having exercised his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even though he came from another country, and that in such bad circumstances also as I have already described. At last his brothers died also, after they had lived prosperously in Egypt. Now their posterity and sons some time after carried away their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: but, as for the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterwards, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of each of them, and by what struggles they got possession of the land of Canaan, shall be showed hereafter, when I have first explained why they left Egypt.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Afflictions that befel the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years.

§ 1.

NOW it happened that the Egyptians, who were luxurious and lazy as concerned labour, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain, became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, from envy at their prosperity: for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become notable for abundant wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having from length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly as the crown had now come into another family, they treated the Israelites very badly, and contrived various ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities, and banks to restrain the river, and hinder its waters from inundating the country and becoming a stagnant marsh. They set them also to build pyramids, and wore them out, and forced them to learn all sorts of arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to rise superior to them.

§ 2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, the following reason made the Egyptians more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites, and would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which

thing was so feared by the king, that, at this scribe's suggestion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, who was born to the Israelites, into the river, and so destroy it, and that the Egyptian midwives should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe their births (for they were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them, as being unlikely from their nationality to transgress the king's commands). He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey the royal edict, and venture to keep their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and being themselves parents were obliged to help in the destruction of their own children, but the intention being to blot out their race, by the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, made their calamity very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the misery they were in. But no one can defeat the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up, and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and the scribe was found a true prophet of what should happen through him. The circumstances were as follows.

§ 3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler of the Hebrews, was afraid for the whole nation, lest it should fail, by the dearth of young men to be brought up hereafter; and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of future favours. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He re-

minded him that, when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but also because, though his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed and bear children; and because he left to Ishmael and to his posterity the country of Arabia, and Troglodytis to his sons by Keturah, and Canaan to Isaac. "And it was by my assistance," said he, "that he did great exploits in war, which [unless you be yourselves impious] you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known even to strangers, by the greatness of the prosperity which he enjoyed all his life and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become over six hundred thousand. Know, therefore, that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for your own glory. For the child, in dread of whose birth the Egyptians have doomed the Israelitish children to destruction, shall be thine, and he shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and after being brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under among the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts, and that not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All this shall be the effect of my favour to you and your posterity. His brother also shall be so eminent, that he and his posterity shall have my priesthood to the end of the world."

§ 4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awoke, and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now their fear increased on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation of what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, from the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling into the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should

make the promise of God of none effect, determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him [which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child so privately to be nourished, and himself, would be always in imminent danger]; for he believed that God would certainly procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of papyrus like a cradle, big enough for an infant to be laid in it without being too confined. They then daubed it over with bitumen (which would naturally keep out the water from coming through the papyrus), and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God. So the river received the child, and carried him along, and Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank near him, as her mother had bidden her, to see where the ark would be carried. Then did God demonstrate, that human wisdom was nothing, but that whatever he wished to do would have a prosperous end, and that those who for their own security condemn others to destruction, and take great pains over the matter, fail of their purpose, while others are preserved in a surprising manner, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities, when their dangers arise by the appointment of God. And, indeed, such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

§ 5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She happened to be diverting herself by the banks of the river, and seeing the ark borne along by the current, she sent some who could swim, and bade them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child in it, she was greatly in love with him on account of his size and beauty: for God took such great care of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by those very persons who had made the most fatal decrees on account of their dread of his birth, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bade them bring a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not

the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did so to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not as if on purpose, but only as a spectator, and she said, "It is in vain for you, Princess, to call women who are no way akin to it to suckle the child; but if you will order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it will take to the breast of one of its own nation." And as she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bade her procure such a one, and bring a Hebrew woman that could give suck. And she, having such authority given her, went and fetched her mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly took to the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so at the princess' desire the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to Jochebed.

§ 6. Then it was that Thermuthis imposed the name 'Mouses' upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river: for the Egyptians call 'water' by the name of 'Mo,' and such as are 'saved out of it,' by the name of 'Uses;' so by putting these two words together, they gave him his name. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews. And he was the seventh from Abraham, for he was the son of Amram, the son of Caath, the son of Levi, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham. Now Moses' understanding was above his age, nay, far beyond that standard, and when he was taught he showed greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater ones when he should become a man. God did also give him such height, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And for his beauty, there was nobody so uncouth, as when he saw Moses, did not greatly marvel at his handsomeness. And it happened to many, that met him as he was carried along the road, that they turned back to see the child, and left their work to gaze idly at him. For the beauty of the child was so remarkable and excessive, that it spellbound spectators to gaze on him.

§ 7. Thermuthis therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no

child of her own. And on one occasion she took Moses to her father and showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own, and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is divine in form and noble in mind; and as I received him from the bounty of the river in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of your kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him close to his breast: and, to please his daughter, playfully put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, after stripping it off in childish mood, and trod upon it with his feet. And this seemed to portend something evil to the kingdom of Egypt. So when the sacred scribe saw this, who had foretold that his birth would be for the humiliation of the Egyptian kingdom, he ran up to kill him, and, crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "O king! this is the child of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger. He himself affords an attestation to the prediction, by his insulting your government, and treading upon your diadem. Put him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of reliance on him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was reluctant to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was therefore educated with great care. And the Hebrews were sanguine that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow his education. But as there was no plausible pretext for his being killed, either by the king, to whom he was a relation by adoption, or by anyone else, in whom by a knowledge of the future they might have had more confidence, as likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

CHAP. X.

How Moses Warred against the Ethiopians.

§ 1.

MOSES therefore, being born and brought up in the way described, and coming to maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for their humiliation and to raise the Israelites on the following occasion. The Ethiopians, who are neighbours of the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, and plundered and carried off the goods of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, marched against them to revenge the insult, but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and got home safe. And the Ethiopians followed after them in hot pursuit, and thinking that it would be soft not to subdue all Egypt, they ravaged the country far and wide, and when they had tasted its sweets never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at their first approach to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis[1] and the sea, not one of the cities being able to hold out against them. The Egyptians in this strait betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had counselled them to call in the Hebrew to their aid, the king commanded his daughter to produce Moses, that he might be their general. And when she had made the king swear he would do Moses no harm, she delivered him to the king, supposing his assistance would be of great advantage, and reproaching the priests, who, having before urged the Egyptians to kill him as an enemy, were not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

§ 2. So Moses, at the entreaty of Thermuthis and the king, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians,

[1] The ruins of Memphis, or Noph, are at *Mitrahamy*, on the left bank of the Nile above Cairo.

thinking they should overcome their enemies by his valour, and hoping at the same time to kill Moses treacherously,[1] and those of the Hebrews hoping to escape from the Egyptians, since Moses was to be their general. And he was too quick for the enemy, and before they heard of his approach marched against them with his army, not by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful proof of his sagacity. For as the ground was difficult to travel over, because of the multitude of serpents (which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed some that other countries do not breed, and such as are remarkable for strength and malignity and unusual appearance, some of which fly so as to come upon men at unawares off the ground and do them a mischief), Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe and without hurt on its march, for he made baskets like arks of papyrus, and filled them with ibises,[2] and carried them along with the army. Now the ibis is the greatest enemy to serpents, which fly from them when they come near them, and as they fly they get caught and devoured by them, as if by deer. But the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to serpents. About them I shall say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with the nature of the bird. As soon, then, as Moses was come to the land which breeds these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpents, and used them to clear the ground for his army. Having therefore thus proceeded on his march, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him, and joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and attacked and overthrew their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of the Ethiopians. And when the Egyptian army had once tasted success thanks to Moses, they did not slacken their vigour, so that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and utter ruin. And at last they were forced into Saba, the

[1] *τῷ αὐτῷ δόλῳ* can have no meaning here. I conjecture therefore that *καιρῷ* has fallen out before *δόλῳ*.

[2] Pliny speaks of these birds, and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents," Hist. Nat. x. 28.—W. See also Herodotus, ii. 75, 76, and 65.

royal city[1] of Ethiopia (which Cambyses afterwards called Meroe, after the name of his own sister), and there were besieged. The place was almost impregnable, as it was completely surrounded by the Nile, and two other rivers, the Astapus and Astaboras,[2] made it very difficult for such as attempted to cross over them; for the interior of the city formed an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers as a first line of defence, and great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, so that when the waters rise with the greatest violence they can never overflow it, and these ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are got over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle (for the enemies durst not offer battle), the following circumstance happened: Tharbis, the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians, happened to see Moses as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage; and admiring the ingenuity of his undertakings, and supposing him to be the author of the Egyptian success (when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty), and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, who had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him. And as her passion increased, she sent to him the most faithful of her servants to propose marriage. He accepted her offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to wife, and that when he had once got possession of the city, he would not break his word. No sooner said than done, and when Moses had destroyed the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and celebrated the marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

[1] That is, the capital of Ethiopia.

[2] Meroe lay between the Nile, the Blue Nile (Astapus), the *'Atbara* (Astaboras), and the *Sobat* rivers; the capital Saba, or Meroe, was at the north end of the district.

CHAP. XI.

How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian.

§ 1.

NOW the Egyptians, because they had been preserved by Moses, entertained an hatred to him, and were very eager in plotting against him, suspecting that he would, after his success, stir up a revolution in Egypt, and told the king he ought to be slain. The king also had some intention of the same purpose, from envy of his military exploits, and fear of being brought low by him; and, being urged on by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But he, having learned beforehand what plots there were against him, went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the desert, where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously. And when he came to the city of Midian,[1] that lay near the Red Sea, and got its name from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested there after his laborious journey and hardships. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon. And there he had an opportunity offered him by the custom of the country, of doing what exhibited his virtue, and afforded him means of bettering his circumstances.

§ 2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to occupy the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, by its being exhausted by others before they came. Now there were come to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one of great repute among the people of the country. These virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary among women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, came first of all, and drew water out of the well in sufficient quantity for

[1] The city of Midian was on the east side of the gulf of *'Akabah;* the site has not been identified.

their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came up and tried to drive the maidens away, that they might have the water for themselves, Moses, thinking it monstrous to allow the maidens to be so oppressed, and to suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, drove away those men who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded the necessary help to the women: who, after having received such a benefit from him, went to their father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well of his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor, and bade them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him the testimony his daughters bore to his assistance, and admiring him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed his assistance on persons not ungrateful, but both able and willing to return his kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he adopted him as his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the superintendent and master over his cattle, for of old all the wealth of barbarians was in cattle.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses.

§ 1.

NOW Moses, having obtained such treatment from Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterwards grazing his flocks near the mountain called Sinai,[1] he drove them there. Now Sinai is the highest of all the mountains thereabouts, and the best for pasturage, the herbage there being good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the

[1] In the peninsula of Sinai; the highest mountain is *Jebel Kattarîn*, close to *Jebel Mûsa*, the traditional Mount Sinai.

opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it. And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses: for a fire seized upon a thorn-bush, yet did its green luxuriance continue intact, nor did the fire consume the bush, though the flame was great and fierce. Moses was frightened at this strange sight, but was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spoke to him, and told him how bold he had been in venturing to come to a place where no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove as far as possible from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he was himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, not to pry any further. And he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him; and commanded him to return with confidence to Egypt, to be the commander and leader of the nation of the Hebrews, and to deliver his kinsmen from the affliction they suffered there: "For," said he, "they shall inhabit that happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and you by your intelligence shall be their leader there." But he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such was the divine message delivered out of the fire.

§ 2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be madness, O Lord, rather than sense, to distrust your power, which I myself worship, and which I know has been manifested to my forefathers, but still I fail to see how I, who am a private man, and of no abilities, should persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I should lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how I can force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since the Egyptians augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labour and work they put upon them."

§ 3. But God exhorted him to be confident on all points, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his

words, when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds to supply strength. He bade him also take a sign of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and became a serpent, and rolled itself round in coils, and reared its head, as ready to retaliate on such as should assault it, after which it became again a rod as it was before. After this, God bade Moses put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white and in colour like chalk, but afterwards it returned to its usual colour again. He also, at God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. And Moses marvelling at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bade him make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, "that you are sent by me, and do all things according to my commands. And I bid you make no delay but haste to Egypt, and travel night and day, and not waste time, so as to make the bondage and sufferings of the Hebrews to last the longer."

§ 4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, could no longer disbelieve them: he entreated God to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe to him the knowledge of his name, that since he had heard and seen him, he would also tell him his name, so that when he offered sacrifice, he might invoke him by it. Whereupon God declared to him his name, which had never been discovered to men before, concerning which it is not lawful for me to speak. And these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he needed them: of all which signs he put most confidence in the fire in the bush, and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and to bring ruin on the Egyptians.

CHAP. XIII.

How Moses returned into Egypt to Pharoah.

§ 1.

AND Moses, when he heard that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he had fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt to help his own people: and he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the sons he had by her, Gershom and Eleazar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of these names, Gershom, signifies in the Hebrew tongue, 'I have been a stranger in a strange land;' and Eleazar, that, by the 'assistance of the God of his fathers,' he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had happened to him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. And as they went forward, the chief men among the Hebrews, having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and, as he was not believed, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and had a good hope about everything, believing now that God looked after their preservation.

§ 2. Now when Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatever he should order, as they promised to be, and that they were in love with liberty, he went to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done to help the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him what danger he had been in during that expedition, without having any proper return made to him, as he had deserved. He also informed him of what had happened to him at Mount Sinai, and what God had said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to make him put faith in

the commands which he had given him, and he exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

§ 3. And when the king jeered, Moses made him actually see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. But the king was very angry with Moses, and called him a bad man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and now came back with deceitful tricks and wonders and magical arts to frighten him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in these kind of arts [and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended to be divine; as also he told him, that, when he exhibited such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned]. And when the priests threw down their rods, they too became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at this, and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is as much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man: and I will prove that what I do is not done by juggling or untrue deception, but by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all; it then returned to its own form, and Moses took it up.

§ 4. However, the king was no more moved, when this was done, than before, but being very angry, he said, that Moses should gain nothing by his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians. And he commanded the chief task-master over the Hebrews to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before. For though he allowed them chaff before for making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer, but he made them work hard at brick-making in the daytime, and they had to gather chaff in the night. Now as their labour was thus doubled, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their work and misery were

on his account become more severe. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings, nor did he abate his zeal for all the Hebrews' complaints, but he set his soul resolutely against both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and urged him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and sacrifice there to God, for he had ordered them so to do, and not to act counter to the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he was aware, by laying an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, he should occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable anyone that acted counter to the divine commands would undergo, since afflictions arise from everything to those that provoke the divine wrath against them; for such have neither earth nor air for their friends, not does the fruit of the womb come according to nature, but everything is hostile and adverse to them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by bitter experience; and that also the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians.

§ 1.

BUT as the king made light of the words of Moses, and paid no regard to them at all, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues ever happened to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt, and because I wish to show that Moses did not speak falsely in any one thing that he foretold them, and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution, not to act like the Egyptians and do anything that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. The Egyptian river ran with blood at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water, and the water was not only of

the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink it pain and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians: but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from its natural condition. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer their departure.

§ 2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians: an innumerable multitude of frogs devastated their land, the river was also full of them, insomuch, that those who drew water found it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in and were drowned in the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born and died; they also disturbed all their household arrangements, being found among what they ate, and what they drank, and swarming upon their beds. There was also a strong and unpleasant odour from them as they died in their houses. And as the Egyptians suffered grievously from this plague, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away, and both the land and river returned to their usual condition. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having made his concession rather out of fear than from prudence.

§ 3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another additional plague. There broke out in the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which these miserable wretches miserably perished, being unable to destroy the vermin either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible plague the king of Egypt was troubled, fearing that his people would be destroyed, and considering that the manner of death was also shameful, so that he was forced in part to recover from[1] his folly

[1] Reading *ἀπὸ* for *ὑπό*.

to a sound mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he demanded that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return, whereby he provoked God to greater anger, thinking to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished Egypt for the sake of the Hebrews; for he filled that country full of various kinds of pestilential creatures, such as had never been seen by men before, by whom the men themselves perished, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation: and if anything escaped destruction by them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men suffered from also.

§ 4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God, but though he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with various plagues greater than those prevalent before; for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, which consumed their inward parts, and a great many Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail such as the climate of Egypt had never suffered from before, like that which falls in other climates in winter-time, and larger than that which falls in the middle of spring in the northern and north-western regions, came down and destroyed all their crops. After this, a swarm of locusts devoured the seed which was not hurt by the hail, so that to the Egyptians their hopes of crops were entirely lost.

§ 5. The forementioned calamities would have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise and sensible of what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, not so much in folly as in wickedness, even though he knew the cause of his troubles, still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the better course. So he bade Moses take the Hebrews away with their wives and children, but leave their cattle behind, since the Egyptian cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and as time was wasted over this

argument, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and in terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. After that, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and yet Pharaoh did not repent and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him, and said: "How long will you be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins you to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of your all being freed from these plagues unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head, if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Thereupon Moses said, he would not speak to him any more about them, but that the king himself, together with the principal Egyptians, would beseech the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

§ 6. But God, signifying that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, commanded Moses to tell the people to make ready a sacrifice, and to prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus against the fourteenth (the month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuthi, and by the Hebrews Nisan, but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus), and ordered him to lead away the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having divided the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place. And when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is, that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival Pascha, which signifies passover, because on that night God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, who lived near the king's palace, came and advised Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bade them be

off, supposing, if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, that Egypt would be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with gifts, some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourly friendship to them.

CHAP. XV.

How the Hebrews, led by Moses, left Egypt.

§ 1.

SO the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so harshly. And they took their journey by Letopolis,[1] a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon[2] was built afterwards, when Cambyses conquered Egypt. And as they journeyed by the shortest route, on the third day they came to a place called Baalzephon[3] near the Red Sea; and as they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they ate loaves kneaded with flour, only baked by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and that only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, called the feast of unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including women and children, would not be easy to number, but those that were of an age fit for war were six hundred thousand.

§ 2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the

[1] A town in Lower Egypt, about twenty miles north of Memphis, which gave its name to the Letopolitan Nome; it is now probably *er-Rahneh.*

[2] A town in Lower Egypt, in the Heliopolitan Nome, on the right bank of the Nile, and at the commencement of the old canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea. The ruins are near *Old Cairo*, and still bear the name *Babûl.*

[3] Site not identified.

fifteenth day according to the moon, four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham went into Canaan, and two hundred and fifteen years after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and Aaron was three years older. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

§ 3. But the Egyptians repented that the Hebrews were gone, and the king also was very enraged, as if it had come about through the jugglery of Moses, so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons and other stores of war, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they could now have no pretence to pray to God, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they would easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey. So they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of everyone they met which way they were gone; and indeed it was a difficult land to travel over, not only for armies but for single persons. Now Moses had led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent of letting them go, and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. Also on account of the inhabitants of Palestine, who had been hostile to them and hated them of old, he contrived that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country was next that of Egypt; and so it was that Moses led the people not along the road to the land of Palestine, but was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so, after a long journey and many hardships, they might enter into the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared for battle, and by their multitude drove them into a narrow place, for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. They also blocked up the roads by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly,

intercepting them between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for a mountain terminated at the sea, which was impassable from its ruggedness, and so barred their flight; so they hemmed in the Hebrews with their army, where the mountain closed with the sea, planting themselves at this opening, that so they might bar their passage into the plain.

§ 4. The Hebrews then, not being able to undergo as it were a siege, because they wanted provisions, and seeing no means of escape, and if they resolved to fight having no weapons, expected complete destruction, unless they surrendered voluntarily to the Egyptians. And they accused Moses, and forgot all the miracles wrought by God for their freedom, and in their unbelief wished to stone the prophet, who encouraged them and promised them deliverance, and resolved to deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. And there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, as they were shut in by mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and saw no means of escape.

§ 5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not relax his care of them, but trusted in God, who, as he had done for their liberation all other things which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves of, or to be slain by them. And standing in the midst, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter: but it is no better than madness for you at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whom all those things have been performed which he promised, when you expected no such things, namely, all that I have had a hand in for your deliverance and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, whose work it is that we are now hemmed in in this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power and providence over us. For God does not give his

help in small matters to those whom he favours, but in cases where he sees no hope in men of bettering their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a protector as is able to make small things great, and to evidence the weakness of this mighty force, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army, and despair not of safety, because the sea before and the mountains behind afford you no opportunity for fleeing, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made level ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

CHAP. XVI.

How the Sea was divided asunder for the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.

§ 1.

WHEN Moses had said this, he led them on towards the sea, while the Egyptians looked on. For they were within sight, but so tired by their toilsome pursuit, that they thought it best to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and aid, and said, "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance for us to extricate ourselves from our present condition, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to our host, which left Egypt at thy command. We despair of any other hope or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee: and if there be any method that can promise us escape from the fury of the Egyptians by thy providence, we look to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us, and do thou infuse in the people, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind, courage and confidence of deliverance. We are in extremities, but still such as thou hast power over; the sea is thine, the mountain that encloses us is thine; so that it will open if thou commandest it, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight

through the air, if it seemed good to thee to preserve us in that way by thy power."

§ 2. When Moses had thus prayed to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and retiring into itself, left dry ground as a road for the flight of the Hebrews. Now, when Moses saw this manifestation of God, and that the sea went out of its own place and left dry land, he stepped first of all into it, and bade the Hebrews follow him along that divine road, rejoicing at the danger their enemies that followed them were in, and giving thanks to God for so surprising a deliverance vouchsafed to them by him.

§ 3. Now as they loitered not, but went on earnestly, relying on God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed at first that they were mad, and rushing upon certain destruction. But when they saw that they had gone a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty presented itself, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their cavalry foremost, and stepped down into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while they were putting on their armour and so lost time, were beforehand with them, and got over to the land on the other side without any hurt. So the Egyptians were encouraged the more to pursue them, expecting no harm would come to them either: but they were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not a common road,—a road made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those who were intent on using it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed back again, and came down with a rush agitated by storms of wind, and cut off the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from heaven, and dreadful thunders and flashes of lightning. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there anything, wont to be sent upon men by God as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

§ 4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain them-

selves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies, supposing themselves firmly delivered, as those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and as they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And having escaped the danger they were in in this manner, and moreover seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whatever, they spent all the night in singing of hymns and mirth. Moses also composed a song to God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his favour, in hexameter[1] verse.

§ 5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this account as I found it in the sacred books. And let no one[2]

[1] What that hexameter verse, in which Moses' triumphant song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present ignorance of the old Hebrew metre or measure will not let us determine. Nor does it appear to me certain, that even Josephus himself had a distinct notion of it, though he speaks of several sorts of that metre or measure, both here and elsewhere, Antiq. iv. 8, § 44, and vii. 12, § 3.—W.

[2] Take here the original passages of the four old authors that still remain, as to the transit of Alexander the Great over the Pamphylian Sea; I mean of Callisthenes, Strabo, Arrian, and Appian. As to Callisthenes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this expedition, Eustathius, in his notes upon the third Iliad of Homer (as Dr. Bernard here informs us), says, that "this Callisthenes wrote, how the Pamphylian Sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but, rising and elevating its waters, did pay him homage as its king."—Strabo's account is this, Greg. xiv. p. 666. "Now about Phaselis is that narrow passage, by the sea side, through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called Climax, which adjoins to the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow passage on the shore, which in calm weather is bare, so as to be passable by travellers, but when the sea overflows, it is covered to a great degree by waves. Now then, the ascent by the mountains being round about and steep, in still weather they make use of the road along the coast. But Alexander fell into the winter season, and, committing himself chiefly to fortune, he marched on before the waves retired, and so it happened that they were a whole day in journeying over it, and were under water up to the navel."—Arrian's account is this, i. pp. 72, 73. "When Alexander removed from Phaselis, he sent some part of his army over the mountains to Perga; which road the Thracians showed him. A difficult way it was, but short. However, he himself conducted those that were with him by the sea-shore. This road is impassable at any other time than when the north wind blows; but if the south wind prevail, there is no passing by the shore. Now at this time, after strong south winds, a north wind blew; and that not without the Divine providence (as both he and they that were with him supposed), and afforded him an easy and quick passage." Appian, when

wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if a way of safety through the sea were discovered to those men of old time who were free from wickedness, whether by the will of God, or by chance, since for Alexander, king of Macedonia, and his suite, who lived only the other day, the Pamphylian sea[1] retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians. And this is recorded as true by all that have written about the exploits of Alexander. But as to these events let every one think as he pleases.

§ 6. On the next day Moses collected the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the wind acting upon it, and he conjectured that this also happened by divine providence, so that they might not be destitute of weapons. So, when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice there to God, and to render thank-offerings for the deliverance of the people, as he had been ordered beforehand.

he compares Cæsar and Alexander together (De Bel. Civil. ii. p. 522), says, "That they both depended on their boldness and fortune, as much as on their skill in war. As an instance of which, Alexander journeyed over a country without water in the heat of summer, to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and quickly passed over the bay of Pamphylia, when, by Divine Providence, the sea was cut off; thus Providence restraining the sea on his account, as it had sent rain when he travelled over the desert.

N.B. Since, in the days of Josephus, as he assures us, all the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account he has here set down, as to the providential going back of the waters of the Pamphylian Sea, when he was going with his army to destroy the Persian monarchy, which the fore-named authors now remaining fully confirm, it is without all just foundation that Josephus is here blamed by some late writers for quoting these ancient authors upon the present occasion. Nor can the reflections of Plutarch, or any other author later than Josephus, be in the least here alleged to contradict him. Josephus went by all the evidence he then had, and that evidence of the most authentic sort also. So that, whatever the moderns may think of the thing itself, there is hence not the least colour for finding fault with Josephus; he would rather have been much to blame had he omitted these quotations.—W.

[1] Now the *Gulf of Adalia*, on the south coast of Asia Minor.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS.—FROM THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT, TO THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION.

CHAP. I.

How Moses, when he had brought the People out of Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered many Hardships on their Journey.

§ 1.

WHEN the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them on their journey to Sinai, for it was entirely a desert, and without any sustenance for them, and also had exceeding little water, so that it was not only not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that could give growth to any produce. But they were forced to travel over this country such as it was, as they had no other but this to travel in. They did indeed carry water along with them from the land over which they had just travelled, as their leader had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with difficulty from the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and that in small quantities only. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called Mar,[1] which had its name from the badness of the water, for Mar denotes bitterness. And they were distressed when they got there, both from the tediousness of their journey, and their want of food, which entirely failed them at that time. Now there was a well there, which made them the more to stay in the place, which, although it was not sufficient to

[1] The Marah of Exod. xv. 23, and Numb. xxxiii. 8, 9; probably *'Ain Hawarah*, on the road from *Suez* to Sinai.

satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort in such a region, for they heard from those who had been sent to explore that there was nothing to be found if they travelled further. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink, and intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

§ 2. When Moses saw how much the people were dispirited, and that the matter was incontestable (for they were not a pure army, who could oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them, but the multitude of children and of women, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men), he was in great anxiety, and had everybody's calamity as his own. For all ran to him and begged of him, the women for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not neglect them, but would procure some means to save them alive. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made an incision lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would obey him in what he should enjoin them to do, and that not remissly but with alacrity. And when they asked, what they were to do in order to get the water changed for the better? he bade the strongest men among them that stood round to draw up the water, and told them that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged by frequent strokes as to be fit to drink.

§ 3. And removing from thence they came to Elim,[1] which looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees there, but when they came near, it was evidently a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill-grown and stunted from want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them gushed out from the fountains,

[1] Perhaps *Wâdy Ghurundul*, on the road from *Suez* to Sinai.

which were in number twelve; they were rather a few moist places than springs that could jet out their water plentifully. And when they dug in the sand they found no water, and if they did get a few drops into their hands, they found it useless on account of its muddy nature. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and refreshed by water. So they laid the blame on their leader, and cried out against him; and said, that their miserable state, and this taste of adversity were owing to him. For they had now journeyed thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and, finding no fresh ones, were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon their present evil plight, they were hindered from remembering what favours they had received from God, and from the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry with their leader, and were fain to stone him as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

§ 4. But as for Moses, though the multitude were excited and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon the consciousness of the care he had taken of his fellow-countrymen, and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands. He was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches, so he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be overmindful of their present necessities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present distress, to cast out of their minds those great and wonderful favours and gifts which they had obtained of God, but to expect deliverance out of their present straits also by the solicitude for them of God, who, it was probable, was making a trial of their virtue to see what fortitude they had, and what memory they retained of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they would not think of them in the miseries they now felt. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering the benefits done to them, since they so despised God and his commands, by which they had left the land of

Egypt, and behaved themselves so ill to him who was the servant of God, and that when he had never deceived them, either in what he had said, or ordered them to do by God's command. He also recapitulated all that had passed: how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them by force contrary to the will of God, and how the very same river was to the Egyptians bloody and not fit for drinking, but to them sweet and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which retired a long way from them, by which very thing they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and how when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them; and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were apparently just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner, and that he had still the same power, so that they ought not even now to despair of his providence, but to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it came not immediately, if it were present with them before they suffered any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus, that God delayed to assist them, not because he had no regard to them, but because he would first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they took in freedom, that he might learn whether they had souls great enough to bear want of food and scarcity of water on its account, or whether they were content to be slaves, as cattle were slaves to such as owned them and fed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. Finally he said that he should not be so much concerned for his own preservation (for if he should die unjustly he should not reckon it any affliction), but that he was concerned for them, lest, by stoning him, they should be thought to despise God.

§ 5. By this speech he pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and made them repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were in made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God some succour for the people and deliverance from the want they were in (for in him, and in him alone,

was their hope of safety); and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since it was the nature of mankind to be peevish and querulous in adversity. And God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. And when Moses heard this from God, he came down to the multitude. And when they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their dejection to gladness. And he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance out of their present distress. And soon after came a vast number of quails (this is a bird more plentiful in the Arabian gulf than anywhere else), flying over the sea, and hovering over them, till, wearied with their flight, and also flying more than other birds very near to the earth, they bore down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so quickly, even sooner than he had promised it.

§ 6. But soon after this first supply of food God sent them a second: for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down: and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposing this also was come for food from God to them, tasted it, and was delighted, and as the people knew not what it was and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them, that this dew did not fall from heaven as they imagined, but was for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied of what he told them. They also imitated their leader, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, and very similar to bdellium one of the sweet spices, and in size equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it, but they were enjoined to gather it equally, the measure of an omer for each day, that this food should not fail them, and the weaker not be able to get their share, by reason of the overgreediness of the strong in gathering it. However, those who from their extra labour gathered

more than the measure appointed for them, had no more than others, for they found no more than an omer a piece. And there was no advantage got by leaving any till the next day, as it got bitter and bred worms. So divine and wonderful a food it was! It also supplied the want of other food to those that fed on it. And even now in all that region it comes down in rain, as Moses then obtained it of God for the people's sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food manna, for the particle 'man' in our language, asks the question, 'What is this?' So the Hebrews continued to be very joyful at this food sent them from heaven. And they used it for forty years, as long in fact as they were in the wilderness.

§ 7. As soon as they removed thence, they came to Rephidim,[1] being distressed to the last degree by thirst, for while on the preceding days they had lit on a few small fountains, they now found the land entirely destitute of water, and were in an evil case, and again turned their anger against Moses. And he, only just escaping the fury of the multitude, betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain and plenty of water from a place they did not expect to get any from. And he commanded him to smite the rock which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted, for he would see that drink should come to them without any labour or pains. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming fast from the eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected deliverance, and told them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were dejected at hearing that, supposing it would be necessary to cut the rock in pieces, now they were worn

[1] See Numb. xxxiii. 14, 15. Probably near *Feirân*, in the *Wâdy Feirân*, in the Sinaitic peninsula.

out by their thirst and journey, when Moses only smote the rock with his rod, and out of it gushed out water in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful thing, and, as it were, quenched their thirst at the very sight. And the water was pleasant and sweet to those that drank it, and such as was to be expected where God was the donor. They also admired Moses for being so honoured by God, and gratefully offered sacrifice to God for his providence towards them. And a document deposited in the temple informs us that God foretold to Moses that water should in this manner be elicited from the rock.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring Nations, made War with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great Part of their Army.

§ 1.

THE name of the Hebrews began already to be everywhere noised abroad, and rumours about them spread which made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent envoys to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that urged them especially to this course were the inhabitants of Gobolitis[1] and Petra, who were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and their kings sent envoys, and exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, who had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait for them, "which army it is well for us and safest and most prudent not to disregard, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to prosperity, and perhaps attack us first, presuming upon our inertia, and we ought to avenge ourselves on them for what they have done in the wilderness, but this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities, and our goods. For those who endeavour to

[1] See page 127.

crush a hostile power in its first rise, are wiser than those who endeavour to put a stop to its progress when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not give any opportunity for their enemies to become troublesome to them." After they had sent such messages to the neighbouring nations, and to one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

§ 2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such hostile move. And when they offered battle, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in great dismay, being in want of all necessaries, and yet having to war with men who were thoroughly well prepared. Then Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's good pleasure, by which they had been raised to freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were drawn up in battle array to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. He told them to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as men in possession of fight with confidence, and to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. He told them also to suppose the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as God, who knew their character, could not wish them to be conquered by. And how valuable God's assistance was, they had experienced on many occasions more terrible than war, for that was only against men, but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that were insuperable, as also against mountains and sea when they had no way of escape, yet all these difficulties had been conquered by God's favour to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous now, and to look upon their entire prosperity as depending on the conquest of their enemies.

§ 3. With such words did Moses encourage the multitude, and then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and together. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were

cheered in their minds in regard to their danger, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be haply delivered out of all their troubles, nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies without the least delay, as if delay might cool their courage. Then Moses picked out all that were fit for war, and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them, who was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours, of great intelligence and eloquence, and very conspicuous for his worship of God, and indeed imitated Moses in piety towards God, and was much honoured among the Hebrews. He also set a small party of armed men near the water, to take care of the children and women and the entire camp. So that whole night they got ready for the battle, and repaired their weapons if any of them required it, and attended to their commanders, being ready to rush into battle, as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also passed the night in instructing Joshua how to draw his army up in order of battle. And when the day began to dawn, Moses exhorted Joshua again to approve himself in deeds such a one as his reputation warranted people to expect, and to gain glory in the coming fight among his men by his exploits. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him.—And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and the disposition of the troops, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

§ 4. So the armies joined battle, and it was a close fight hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity and encouraging one another. As long as Moses stretched out his hands towards heaven, the Hebrews were too much for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to keep his hands so stretched out (and as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted), he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur, his sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and to hold up his hands, and not to permit him to cease giving this aid to the battle through weariness. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force, and indeed they would all

have perished, if the approach of night had not obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantage, which they obtained by their strenuous efforts in the battle; for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got great booty both publicly and individually, whereas before they were short of even necessary food. Their victory in this battle was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present but for the future also: for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their spirit also, and after this slaughter of the Amalekites were feared by all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches: for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels which they made use of in their families; and there was a notable quantity of embroidery and fine work about the armour and apparel and furniture, and much cattle of various kinds, and whatever else is wont to accompany an army on the march. So the Hebrews now prided themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour, and perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed everything attainable. Such were the consequences of this battle.

§ 5. On the next day Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that had fled, and gave rewards to such as had distinguished themselves in the action, and highly commended Joshua, their general, to whose great prowess testimony was borne by all the army. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be counted up. Then Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he called God the Conqueror. He also foretold that the Amalekites should be utterly destroyed, and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and that when they were in the wilderness and in sore distress. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with

those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. And, when Moses had celebrated this festival of victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days after the fight, and then led them on in order of battle. And they had now many soldiers armed. And by easy marches he got to Mount Sinai three months after the departure from Egypt, at which mountain, as I have before related, the vision of the burning bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

CHAP. III.

How Moses kindly received his Father-in-law, Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai.

§ 1.

NOW when Raguel, Moses' father-in-law, heard of his success, he came to congratulate him, and greet Moses and Zipporah and their children. And Moses was pleased at the arrival of his father-in-law, and when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude near the burning bush which burnt with fire but was not consumed. And the multitude, every one according to their families, partook of the feast, and Aaron and the company and Raguel sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance and freedom. They also praised their leader as the person by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also in expressing his thanks to Moses passed great encomiums upon the whole multitude, and extolled Moses for the prowess he had exhibited in bringing about the safety of his friends.

CHAP. IV.

How Raguel suggested to Moses to set the People in Order, under Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, and how Moses complied in all things with his Father-in-law's Advice.

§ 1.

THE next day, Raguel noticed Moses in the midst of a crowd of business (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one going to him and supposing that they would only obtain justice if he were the arbitrator; and those that lost their causes, thought it no harm, for they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality). Raguel, however, said nothing at the time, not wishing to stop any who desired to avail themselves of their leader's sagacity. But when the uproar was over he took Moses aside, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser matters to others, and himself to see only to the greater, and to the people's safety, for others of the Hebrews could be found that were fit to determine causes, but nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many myriads. "Be not, therefore," he continued, "insensible to your own merit, and to what you have done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Commit, therefore, the management of disputes to others, and reserve yourself for the service of God only, and for finding means of preserving the multitude from their present distress. If you adopt what I suggest as to human affairs, you will take a careful review of the host, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and over thousands, and over five hundreds, and again over hundreds, and over fifties, and let these again be sub-divided into thirties and twenties and tens. And let there be one set over each division, to be nominated by the division. And those whom the whole multitude have approved as good and righteous men, shall decide controversies between man and man. But if any great question arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers

of a higher dignity, and if any difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them remit it to you. By these means two advantages will be gained, the Hebrews will have justice done them, and you will be able to attend constantly on God, and make him more favourable to the host."

§ 2. This was the suggestion of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted upon it. Nor did he conceal the invention of this plan, or claim it as his own, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it. Nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, thinking it right to bear true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have got reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men. Hence we may learn the integrity of Moses; but about this I shall have occasion to speak in other parts of my work.

CHAP. V.

How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and received Laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.

§ 1.

NOW Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them to Mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him, a certain oracle: and he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer vicinity to God to other places. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai,[1] which is the highest of all the moun-

[1] Since this mountain Sinai is here said to be the highest of all the mountains that are in that region, it must be that now called St. Katherine's, which is one-third higher than that within a mile of it, now called Sinai, as Mons. Thevenot informs us, Travels, i. 28, p. 168. The other name of it, Horeb, is never used by Josephus; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians only, whence the Israelites were lately come, as Sinai was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly, when (1 Kings ix. 8), the scripture says, that Elijah came to Horeb, the mount of God, Josephus justly

tains that are in that region, and is not only very difficult of ascent by men on account of its great height, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without fatiguing the eyes; and besides this, it was terrible and unfrequented on account of the rumour that was prevalent that God dwelt there. And the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elated in their minds, from the expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he intended for them; so they feasted, and waited for their leader, and kept themselves pure in other respects, and abstained from their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his converse with him, and bestow some gift upon them by which they might live well. They also adopted a more sumptuous diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental clothing than they usually wore.

§ 2. So they passed two days in this feasting, and on the third day, before the sun rose, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such as none had ever before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents: and while all the rest of the sky was clear, there came strong winds that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning as was terrible to those that saw it, and thunder-bolts hurled down declared God's gracious presence and favour to Moses. Now as to these circumstances every one of my readers may think as he pleases, but I am obliged to relate this history, as it is described in the sacred books. What they saw and heard frightened the Hebrews terribly, for it was such as they were not accustomed to; and then the rumour that was prevalent, that God frequented that mountain, greatly awed their minds; so they sorrowfully confined themselves within their tents, supposing that Moses was destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the same for themselves.

says, Antiq. viii. 13, § 7, that he came to the mountain called Sinai; and Jerome, here cited by Dr. Hudson, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, Sinai and Choreb. See Nom. Heb. p. 427.—W.

§ 3. As they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared majestic and in great elation. His appearance freed them from their fear, and suggested better hopes of what was to come. The air also became clear and pure from its former storms on the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called the people together to a solemn assembly to hear what God would say to them, and when they were gathered together, he stood on high ground where all might hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously. O Hebrews, as on former occasions, and has suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of polity, and is now present in the camp. I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and for what we have done through him, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, only looking at me the speaker, and because it is the tongue of a man that delivers the message. For if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage. For it is not Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various plagues, who provided a way through the sea for us, who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven when we were distressed for want of it, who made water to gush out of a rock when we were in need of it; he by whose means Adam partook of the fruits both of land and sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge; he by whose means our forefather Abraham from a wandering pilgrim became possessor of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents who were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons; he by whose means Joseph became lord over the Egyptians; he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and more precious than children and wives. For if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life; you will find the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb will be plenteous, you will also be terrible to your enemies; for I have been admitted into

the presence of God, and been made a hearer of his immortal voice; so great is his concern for your nation, and its preservation."

§ 4. When he had said this, he brought the people forward with their wives and children, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about what they were to do, that the excellency of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by the tongue of a man, and so be imperfectly delivered to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that not one of the words escaped them, which Moses wrote on two tables; which words it is not lawful for me to set down directly, but I will make their import known.

§ 5. The first word[1] teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in an insignificant matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not covet any thing that is another's.

§ 6. Now when the multitude heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had spoken of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the assembly broke up; but on the following days the people came to Moses' tent, and desired him to bring them also laws from God. Accordingly, he appointed such laws; and afterwards informed them how to act in all cases: which laws I shall mention at the proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work,[2] and make there a separate narration of them.

§ 7. When matters were in this condition, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, first telling them of his intention.

[1] So the ten Commandments are often called the Decalogue, that is, the ten words.

[2] This other work of Josephus, here referred to, does not appear to have been ever published.—W.

And he made his ascent in their sight. And as he stayed there a long time (for he was absent from them forty days), fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there anything in all the evils they had experienced that so much troubled them, as this idea that Moses had perished. Now there was a contention about the matter, some saying that he had been slain by wild beasts, and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; others saying, that he was departed and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of these opinions with any satisfaction, thinking that it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, and that it was probable enough that he might have been translated by God on account of his virtue; so they abstained from conjecture; yet were they exceeding sorry at the idea that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never get his like again: nor would this idea let them entertain any hope about him, so that they could not help feeling trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. But they durst not remove the camp all this while, because Moses had bid them before to stay there.

§ 8. But when forty days and as many nights had elapsed, Moses came down, having tasted no usual food all that time. His appearance filled the host with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct they might live happily, telling them, that during those days of his absence, God had also suggested to him that he would have a tabernacle made for him, into which he would descend when he visited them, and how they should carry it about with them, when they removed elsewhere, and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to Mount Sinai, but that God would himself come and visit that tabernacle, and be present at their prayers. Moreover the tabernacle was to be of such proportions and construction as God had showed him, and they were to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten words engraven upon them, five upon each table: and the writing was by the hand of God.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the Wilderness for the honour of God, which seemed a sort of Temple.

§ 1.

AND they, rejoicing at what they had seen and heard from their leader, were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; for they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and the best sort of wood, and such as would not rot, goat-skins also and sheep-skins, some of them dyed blue, some scarlet, some purple, and some white, and wool dyed with the same various colours before-mentioned; and fine linen, and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments fasten and set in gold; they brought also a great quantity of incense. Of such materials did Moses construct the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was munificent even beyond his means, Moses set architects over the works, by the command of God, and indeed they were the very same as the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been left to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books, and they were these, Bezaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, and grandson of Miriam, the sister of their leader, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with the undertaking with so much alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that there were enough volunteers for the work, for so the artificers informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the proportions and size were to be, and how many vessels it was to contain for use in the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their part in making robes for the priests, and other things that were wanted in

the work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

§ 2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, having appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle. And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and an hundred long, he set up brazen pillars five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the broad side behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. The capitals of the pillars were of silver, but their bases were of gold, and resembled the sharp ends of spears, but were of brass where they were fixed in the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by violent winds. And a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from the capitals to the base, and enclosed the whole space between, and seemed not at all unlike a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of the enclosure. But as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits were left for gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side like a vestibule, they were brass faced with silver, except the bases, which were entirely brass. And on each side of the vestibule there stood three pillars, which were firmly fixed in the supports of the gates, and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, had a curtain of purple, and scarlet and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for ablutions (with a base of like material), in which the priests might wash their hands, and pour water over their feet. And this was the construction of the enclosure of the open court of the tabernacle.

§ 3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of the open court, facing the east, that when the sun rose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length

was thirty cubits, and its breadth ten cubits. One of its walls faced south, and the other north, and behind was the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought in quadrangular form, in breadth a cubit and a half, but in thickness four fingers; they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on all sides, within and without; they had each of them two pivots inserted in their bases, and these were of silver, and in each of the bases there was a socket to receive the pivot. And the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these pivots and sockets exactly fitted into one another, so that the joints were invisible, and there seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on each side, as there were on each twenty, and every one of them was the third part of a span in thickness: so that thirty cubits were made up by them. And as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out, of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and adorned them equally as the larger ones. And every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these fastened together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, as if deftly screwed into one another. And for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together. And why all was jointed so fast together, was that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by wind or by any other thing, but that it might stand secure and immoveable.

§ 4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the innermost part Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was similar to that of the rest, and they stood upon similar bases to them, each a little apart. And inside was

the 'Most Holy Place;' but the rest of the tabernacle was open to the priests. And these partitions in the tabernacle happened to correspond with the nature of the universe. For the third part within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, was, as it were, heaven, set apart to God: and the space of the twenty cubits was, as it were, sea and land, to which men have access, and so it was open to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was, there stood five pillars of gold on bases of brass. And there were hung in the tabernacle veils of fine linen embroidered in purple, and blue, and scarlet colours. The first veil was ten cubits every way, and this they hung over the pillars which parted the temple, and shut off the most holy place, for this veil made it invisible to anyone. Now the whole temple was called 'The Holy Place;' but the part within the four pillars, to which none had access, was called, 'The Holy of Holies.' This veil was very beautiful, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces, and there was worked on it everything that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another veil covered the five pillars that were at the entrance, like the former in size and texture and colour, and at the corner of every pillar a ring fastened it back half-way down the pillar, so as to give entrance for the priests who crept under it. Over this there was a veil of linen of the same size, that could be drawn this way or that by cords, and rings, attached both to the veil and to the cords, allowed either of its being spread or drawn back at the corner, that it might be no hindrance to the view, especially on solemn days; but on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it was drawn close, and afforded a covering to the veil of divers colours. Hence the custom continued even after the temple had been built, of having a similar linen veil drawn over the entrances. And ten other curtains four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length, had golden clasps to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread over the temple, and covered all the top, and parts of the walls on the sides and behind, one cubit from the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth as these, but one more in

number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long, and were woven of hair, with as fine workmanship as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a gable and porch at the gates, the eleventh curtain being used for this purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven, both in hot weather and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colours of the sky. And those that were made of hair, and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the veil at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and the violence of rain. After this manner was the tabernacle reared.

§ 5. There was also an ark made to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and would not rot; this was called Eron in our language. Its construction was as follows. Its length was five spans, but its breadth and height were each three spans. It was covered all over with gold both within and without, so that the wood was not seen. It had also a cover fastened to it by golden hinges, in a wonderful manner, for it was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no projections to hinder its exactly fitting. There were also two golden rings attached to each of the long sides of the ark, passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each side, that it might be moved and carried about by them, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. And on its cover were two figures, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them: and this ark he placed in the Holy of Holies.

§ 6. And in the holy place he placed a table like those at Delphi, its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the

lower parts of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads, but the upper parts near the table were wrought in a square form. The table had a hollow on every side, having a ledge of four fingers' depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet there was also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood gilt over, that could be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where the table was joined to the rings: for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flour, which tenth deal [an omer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotylæ; and above those loaves were put two golden vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which by us is called the Sabbath; for we call the seventh day the Sabbath. The reason of placing loaves here I shall tell in another place.

§ 7. Over against this table, near the south wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred minæ, which the Hebrews call cinchares; if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls (these ornaments amounted to seventy in all); from which it rose on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, all in order corresponding to one another; and on them were seven lamps, one on each, in imitation of the number of the planets; these lamps faced east and south, the candlestick being placed obliquely.

§ 8. Now between this candlestick and the table inside, as I said before, was the altar of incense, made of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as

was not liable to rot, but covered over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but its height double. Upon it was a grate of gold projecting above, with a golden crown at each corner encompassing it round about, whereto were attached rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Also before the tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but underneath of wood, five cubits in length and breadth, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth like network, for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no base to receive it. And opposite this altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Vestments of the Priest, and of the High Priest; concerning the Priesthood of Aaron, with the Manner of the purifications and Sacrifices; also concerning the Festivals, and how each Day was ordered; with other Laws.

§ 1.

THERE were vestments appointed for the priests, as well for all the rest whom they call Chanææ, as for the high priest, whom they call Anarabeches, which signifies high priest. The following is the dress of the ordinary priests. When the priest approaches the sacrifices, he first purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes, and then puts on first what is called Mennachase, which means apron. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but about half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

§ 2. Over this he wore a linen coat of fine flax doubled: it is called Chethomene, which denotes linen, for we call

linen by the name of Chethon. This coat reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the armpit, by a girdle four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine linen, but the warp is nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone twice round, it is tied, and hangs loosely down to the ancles, that is, all the time the priest is not doing anything, for so it appears most handsome to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the sacrifices, and serve at the altar, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it on the left shoulder, and wears it so. Moses indeed called this belt Abaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emian, for so it is called by them. This coat has no folds anywhere in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes.

§ 3. Upon his head the priest wears a cap, not with a conical top, or encircling the whole head, but still covering more than half of it, which is called Masnaempthes; and its make is such, that it seems to be a crown, being a thick band of woven linen; and it is folded round many times and sewed together. Moreover, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the band, which would otherwise appear, and not look well, and sticks close to all the upper part of the head, being so firmly fixed, as not to fall off while the priest is busy with the sacrifices. Thus I have shown the dress of the priests generally.

§ 4. The high priest, indeed, is adorned with the same garments that I have described, without abating one; only over these, he puts on a vestment of a blue colour. This also is long, reaching to the feet; in our language it is called Meeir, and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colour and flowers as the former, with gold woven on it. And at the bottom of it are sewn fringes, in colour

like pomegranates, to which are attached golden bells [1] by a beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vestment was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment, so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but open at the breast and back. A border also was sewed over it, lest the aperture should look too unhandsome. There was also an opening where the hands were to come out.

§ 5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembled the Epomis of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner. It was woven to the depth of a cubit, of all kinds of colours, with gold embroidered on, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered; it had sleeves also; nor did it appear to be very different from a coat. And in the empty place of this garment, there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the same colours as the ephod, and called Essenes,[2] which, in the Greek language, signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the empty space in the ephod. It is united to it by golden rings at every corner, similar rings being attached to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, one at each shoulder, to fasten it in the nature of

[1] The use of these golden bells at the bottom of the high priest's long garment, seems to have been this: That by shaking his garment at the time of his offering incense in the temple, on the great day of expiation, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations there, on the great festivals, the people might have notice of it, and might fall to their own prayers at the time of incense, or other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer those common prayers jointly with the high priest himself to the Almighty. See Luke i. 10, Rev. viii. 3, 4. Nor probably is the son of Sirach to be otherwise understood, when he says of Aaron, the first high priest, Ecclus. xlv. 9, "And God compassed Aaron with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went, there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple for a memorial to the children of his people.—W.

[2] The Breastplate, in fact, as I shall hereafter translate it.

clasps, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be fastened by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob in our own national letters, and our own tongue, six on each stone, and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. There were also twelve stones upon the breastplate, extraordinary for size and beauty, ornaments not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones also were in three rows, four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate, and set in gold, and so made that they could not fall out. The first three were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a jacinth, the second an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the second an onyx, the third a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all the sons of Jacob, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, were engraved on these stones, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And as the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached the neck, and inserted into the very texture of it, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it should not fall out of its place. There was also sewed to the breastplate a girdle of the forementioned colours mixed with gold, which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted the fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

§ 6. The high priest's cap was like that we described before, being made like that of all the other priests; above which there was another one, embroidered in blue, and over it was a triple golden crown, and on its top a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call saccharus, but which those Greeks that are skilful in botany call hyoscyamus.[1]

[1] Henbane.

Now in case anyone that has seen this herb is unacquainted with its nature, or knowing its name recognizes not the herb when he sees it, I shall give a description of it. This herb is often above three spans high, and its root is like that of a turnip (for he that should compare it thereto would not be far out), and its leaves are like the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it puts off of itself when it is about to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the size of the joint of the little finger, and in shape is like a cup. This I will further describe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. It resembles the exact half of a sphere, being round at the bottom, and tapering gradually to the top, and wide at the brim, like a pomegranate cut exactly in two. And it has a cover so round that one might say it was turned on the lathe, and has notches projecting above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now its fruit is contained in this cover of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb sideritis : it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble the petal of the poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the back of the head to each of the temples : but this ephielis, for so the calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, for on that was a golden plate, which had the name of God inscribed upon it in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

§ 7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to feel on account of our despising that Deity which they choose to honour. For if anyone do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and the garments of the priest, and the vessels which we make use of in the sacred service, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others ; for if anyone will with judgment and without prejudice look upon these things, he will find they were each designed in imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses divided the tabernacle into three parts, and assigned two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all ; but he set apart

the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he set twelve loaves on the table, he denoted the year divided into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he hinted at the seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlestick, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The veils, too, which were woven of four materials, represent the four elements; for the linen seems to signify the earth, because flax grows out of the earth, the purple signifies the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of fish, the blue is meant to signify the air, and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Moreover, the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signifies the earth; the blue denotes the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and resembling thunder in the noise of the bells. And as for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements, and as for the gold interwoven on it, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place in the world. And the girdle, which encompassed the high priest about, signifies the ocean, for that goes round about everything. And the two sardonyxes that were in clasps on the high priest's shoulders indicate to us the sun and moon. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or the twelve signs of what the Greeks call the zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the cap, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for otherwise the name of God would not have been inscribed upon it. That it was also adorned with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of the splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explanation suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Priesthood of Aaron.

§ 1.

WHEN what has been described was brought to a conclusion, the votive offerings not having been yet consecrated, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. And when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and shown their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "Israelites, our work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now, since we must receive God in this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister in the sacrifices and prayers that are to be put up for us. And, indeed, had the search for such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of that honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance; but as it is God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So he is to put on the vestments consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that will put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and gave their approbation to him whom God had appointed; for Aaron was of all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his family, and

gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

§ 2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the surplus contributions to the structure of the tabernacle, in coverings for the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, the altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all injured on the road either by rain or dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordered that they should offer half a shekel per head. The shekel is a Hebrew coin equal to four Athenian drachmæ. And they readily obeyed what Moses commanded; and the number of those who contributed this money was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. This money was contributed by free men above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

§ 3. Moses next purified the tabernacle and the priests. The purification was performed in the following manner. He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus (this last is a sort of sweet spice), to pound them, and steep them in an hin of oil of olives (an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choes), then mix them together, and boil them: and prepare them after the art of the unguent makers, and make them into a very sweet-smelling ointment, and afterwards to take it to anoint and purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the incense, of which there were various kinds used in the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But incense was to be offered twice a day, both before sun-rise and at sun-set. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps: three of which were to give light all day long upon the sacred candlestick before God, and the rest were to be lit at eventide.

§ 4. And now all was finished, Bezalee land Aholiab appeared to be the most skilful of the artificers; for they produced finer work than what others had done before, and were very clever to pick up notions of what people

were formerly ignorant of. Of the two Bezaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was seven months: which completed the first year since their departure out of Egypt. And at the beginning of the second year in the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but the Hebrews call it Nisan, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

§ 5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain by disdaining to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and made his abode in the holy house. And thus did he show his presence. The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter, nor yet with so thin a one that men could discern anything through it, but there distilled a sweet dew from it such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

§ 6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honourable presents on the workmen, as it was fit they who had wrought so well should receive, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred worship in my account of the sacrifices; and shall there specify in what cases the law bids us offer a whole burnt-offering, and what it permits us to partake of as food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments and person, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring water and ointment, they became God's priests. And in this manner did he consecrate them and their vestments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed as I have said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams slain day by day, one according to its kind. And on the eighth day, he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. And they vied with one another, and were ambitious to exceed one another in the sacrifices which they offered, and in doing what they were told.

And as the victims lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them spontaneously, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed all that was upon the altar.

§ 7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will. He had four sons, as I said before, and the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring to the altar such incense as Moses had bade them bring, but such as they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death by fire which nobody could quench, rushing upon them, and burning their faces and breasts. So they died. And Moses bade their father and brothers take up their bodies and carry them out of the camp, and bury them magnificently. And the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at their death, which had so unexpectedly befallen them. But Moses entreated their remaining brothers and father not to grieve for them, but to prefer the honour of God to their mourning for them, for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

§ 8. So Moses refused all the honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he asked. His dress also was that of a private man; and in all other respects he behaved himself like one of the common people, and did not wish to appear different from the multitude, except in his evident care of them. He also set down in writing their polity and laws, by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and not offend one another. And all this was dictated to him by God. I shall now relate that polity and those laws.

§ 9. I shall first, however, relate what I before omitted about the dress of the high priest: for Moses left no opportunity for malpractice on the part of the prophets. For if any of them should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his worship when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he wished this to

be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who chanced to be present. Now as to those stones which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes (I think it needless to describe their nature, as they are known to everybody); one of them sparkled when God was present at their worship, namely the one that served as a clasp on the right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by persons at a very great distance, though this was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as do not cultivate wisdom in contempt of religion. But I will mention what is still more wonderful than this, for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's presence for their assistance. So those Greeks, who had a regard for our customs, as they could not possibly contradict this, called the breastplate the oracle. However, the breastplate and sardonyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this work, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws. Of all this I shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

§ 10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praise, as being now delivered from all expectation of evil, and entertaining hope of better times to come. They offered also gifts to God, some common to the whole nation, and others privately tribe by tribe, for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a wagon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides this, every head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a censer, worth ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver: and they weighed together two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and they were full of fine flour kneaded with oil, such as

they used on the altar for the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a he-goat for a sin-offering. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. And Moses went up no longer to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what had been devised by human understanding, and were firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, so that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either in times of peace tempted by luxury, or in times of war by necessity. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work about our laws.

CHAP. IX.

The Nature of our offering Sacrifices.

§ 1.

I WILL now mention some of our laws which belong to purifications and sacrifices, as I am come to this part of my subject. The sacrifices are of two sorts; of these one is offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are performed in two different ways. In the one case what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak first of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter in their first year, though he is permitted to sacrifice bulls of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; then they clean the

bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, when the cleft wood is piled up and the fire burning: they next clean the feet of the victims and their entrails carefully, and add to the other parts to be purified by fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

§ 2. But those that offer thank-offerings, sacrifice indeed the same animals, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; they may however take either males or females. They also in sacrificing them sprinkle the altar with their blood: but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb: then giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains over they burn.

§ 3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to provide the proper victims, offer two pigeons or turtle-doves; one of which is a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food to the priests. But I shall treat more fully of the sacrifice of these birds when I come to sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, a year old, and the priest sprinkles the blood over the altar, not as before, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys, and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and feast on the victim in the holy place the same day, for the law does not permit them to leave any of it till the next morning. But if anyone sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it against him, he sacrifices a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat also in the holy place on the same day. And if the heads of tribes offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same victims that private men do, only they so far differ, that they bring for sacrifice a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

§ 4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, for a ram two, and for a

bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar: it is kneaded with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choes. They bring the same quantity of wine as they do of oil, and pour the wine round the altar; but if anyone does not offer a victim in sacrifice, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as first-fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled (for it is kneaded with oil), or made into bread. But whatever it be that a priest himself offers must of necessity be all burnt. And the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time and place with its dam; and in other cases, till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices are appointed for escaping diseases, or other occasions, in which cakes are eaten with the flesh of the victims, any part of which it is not lawful to leave till the next day, when the priests have taken their share.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Festivals; and how each Day of such Festival is to be observed.

§ 1.

THE law requires that a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the public expense, at the beginning and end of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. And at the new moon, they not only perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a ram, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, for sins of ignorance.

§ 2. But in the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetæus, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats for sins.

§ 3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month they

fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness as the scape-goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat is burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest at his own cost. And when it is slain, he brings its blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkles the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also the floor, and again as often towards the holy place, and about the golden altar; he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God at his own cost as a burnt-offering.

§ 4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins to pitch tabernacles in every family, to preserve them from the cold of that time of the year; as also that, when they should arrive at their own country, and come to that city, that they should have for their metropolis because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings to God, they should carry in their hands a branch of myrtle and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the fruit of the persea. And the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and two rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats as a sin-offering; and on the following days the same number of lambs and of rams, with one kid of the goats; but one bull less every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work is laid aside, and then, as I said before, they sacrifice to God a calf a ram and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats for a sin-offering. And this is the ritual of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

§ 5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries (for it was in this month that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians), the law ordained, that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, which was called the Passover. And so we celebrate it in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of Unleavened Bread succeeds that of the Passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein the people feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest for sins, for a feast for the priests on every one of those days. But on the second day of Unleavened Bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the harvest, for before that day they do not touch them. And as they suppose it right to honour God first, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, they offer to him the first-fruits of their barley in the following manner: they take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then winnow and get the barley out of the bran ready for grinding, they then bring one tenth deal to the altar to God; and casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. And after this they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also, at this feast of first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb as a burnt-offering to God.

§ 6. When a week of weeks has elapsed after this sacrifice, that is forty-nine days, on the fiftieth day, which is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of two tenth deals of wheat flour with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave anything of them till the following day. They also slay three calves for a burnt-offering, and two rams, and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats for a sin-offering. Nor is there any one of their festivals in

which they do not offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. And the law prescribes in all, what they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest, and which sacrifices they may feast upon.

§ 7. Baked bread also unleavened was supplied at the common cost (as much as twenty-four tenth deals of flour were used in making this bread): two heaps of these loaves were baked the day before the sabbath, and were brought into the holy place on the morning of the sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap opposite one another (and a golden cup full of frankincense was set on each heap), and there they remained till the next sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, and those loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all the burnt-offerings were burnt, and other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The priest also, at his own cost, offered twice every day one tenth deal of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked; he brought half of it to the fire in the morning, and half at night. I shall give fuller account of these sacrifices hereafter; but I think I have said sufficient for the present concerning them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Purifications.

§ 1.

MOSES separated the tribe of Levi from the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water from perennial springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on such occasions. He delivered to their charge also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and all things which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

§ 2. He also determined concerning animals, which of them might be used for food, and which they were to abstain from, as to which I shall say more when occasion

calls, adding the reasons why he allowed some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. But he entirely forbade us the use of blood in food, deeming it to contain the life and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died a natural death, as also the caul and fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

§ 3. He also ordered, that those who were afflicted with leprosy, or had a gonorrhœa, should not come into the city;[1] and he set apart women, when they had their courses, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have laid out a corpse to come in after the same manner, when that number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law ordered him to offer two lambs as a sacrifice, one of which they were to purify by fire, and as for the other, the priests had it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have the gonorrhœa. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he bathes in cold water, has the same privilege as those that have lawfully companied with their wives. As for lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had by prayer to God obtained his recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthy colour again, such a one returned thanks to God with various sacrifices, concerning which I shall speak hereafter.

§ 4. So one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with leprosy, when he fled out of Egypt, and that he was the leader of those who, on that account, were banished from that country into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, indeed it was more likely he would have opposed them, if others had endeavoured to introduce them, especially as there are lepers in many nations, who are yet held in honour, and are not only free from reproach and exile, but have been great captains

[1] We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the city, and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a temple, and the tabernacle itself a holy house, with allusion to the latter city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well long afterwards.—W.

of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in their commonwealths, and had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples. And so nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had had such a misfortune in their colour, he might have legislated for their credit and advantage, and have cast no such slur upon them. Accordingly it is plain that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such complaint, and lived with countrymen who were pure from it also, and only legislated for those who had it, doing this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them as he pleases.

§ 5. As to women, when they had had a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days had elapsed if it were a boy, but if a girl, not till twice that number of days had elapsed. And after the time appointed they perform their sacrifices, which the priests offer to God.

§ 6. And if anyone suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he brings a tenth deal of barley-flour, they throw one handful to God, and give the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests sets the woman at the gates facing the temple, and takes the veil from her head, and writes the name of God on parchment, and orders her to swear that she has not at all wronged her husband; and to pray that if she had violated her marriage vow, her right thigh might be put out of joint, and her belly swell, and that she might die so, but if her husband, by the violence of his love, and consequent jealousy, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child in the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest rubbed the name of God out of the parchment, and pressed it into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it to her to drink. And the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived and in due time had a child, but if she had broken her faith to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a shameful manner: her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And

these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purification thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also enacted the following laws for them.

CHAP. XII.

Various laws.

§ 1.

AS for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, esteeming it a happy thing that men should be faithful in wedlock; and that it was profitable both for states and families, that children should be legitimate. The law also forbade a man's lying with his mother, as one of the greatest crimes, and also lying with his father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and sons' wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she had her courses, or to lie with beasts, or to approve of lying with males, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasure on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such outrageous lusts he ordained death as the punishment.

§ 2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of chastity, for he not only restrained them like others in the matters mentioned above, but also forbade them to marry harlots, or a slave or captive, or such as got their living by keeping taverns or inns; as also a woman parted from her husband on any account whatever. Nay, he did not permit the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. So also the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although other priests are not prohibited from coming near to their brothers, or parents, or children, when they are dead. Priests were also to be unblemished in all respects. The priest who had any blemish was to have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to approach the altar, or to enter the temple. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred

ministrations, but in their daily life, that it might be unblameable also. And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are blameless and eminent for their purity and sobriety; nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments.[1] Moreover, they offer victims that are entire and have no defect whatever.

§ 3. And Moses gave them all these precepts which were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision for their laws when they should have come to the land of Canaan. He gave rest to the land from ploughing and sowing every seventh year, as he had prescribed rest from work every seventh day; and ordered, that what grew then of its own accord out of the earth should belong in common to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which are in all fifty years: and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the year of Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty, who became slaves, though they were their own countrymen, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital, but punished by slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following. When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together and make an estimate, on the one hand of the fruits gathered in, and on the other hand of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered in come to more than the expenses laid out upon it, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal

[1] We must here note with Reland, that the precept given to the priests not to drink wine, while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to their abstinence from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministration to another.—W.

to one another, the present possessor relinquishes the land to the former owners. Moses wished the same law to obtain also to those houses which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it offered the purchaser his money again within a year, the latter was forced to restore it; but if a whole year had elapsed, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. Moses learned this code of laws of God, when the camp lay under Mount Sinai, and delivered it in writing to the Hebrews.

§ 4. Now when this legislation seemed to be well arranged, Moses turned his attention next to reviewing the host with a view to war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all burdens. And, when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses made Manasseh, the son of Joseph, one of the heads of tribes, and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed a request of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I before related.

§ 5. When they set up the tabernacle, they placed it in the middle of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst. There was also a well-appointed market; and everything was there ready for sale in due order; and artificers of all trades had their shops; so the camp resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was moveable, and sometimes fixed. The priests were stationed nearest to the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, supposing that God's presence was among them; but when that removed, they journeyed on.

§ 6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description

is this. In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with as much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. It was called in the Hebrew tongue Asosra. Two of these trumpets were made, and one of them was sounded to call the multitude to come together to public assemblies. When one of them sounded, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and to consult about the affairs properly belonging to them; but when both of them sounded, it was to call the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in the following order: at the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and six that followed, all the Levites keeping close to the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, those that had their tents towards the west put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing the victims to the altar, as well on the sabbaths as on all other days. And now it was that Moses first celebrated the feast called the Passover in the wilderness since the departure from Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and led the People to the Borders of the Canaanites.

§ 1.

SHORTLY afterwards he departed from Mount Sinai,[1] and after staying at several places, of which I shall speak anon, he came to a place called Hazeroth,[2] where the

[1] *Jebel Mûsa;* the particular portion of the mountain from which the Law was delivered is known as *Râs Safsâfeh.*

[2] Probably *'Ain Hudherah*, two or three days' journey north-east of *Jebel Mûsa.*

multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the trials of their wandering life, and because, as he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they had lost that, and instead of the happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being in want of water, and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spoke many and sore things against the man, one of them exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and the great efforts he had made for their common safety, and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Thereupon Moses, although he was so disgracefully treated by them, tried to raise them from their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for one day only, but for several. This they disbelieved, and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain supply for so many thousands, he replied, "Neither God, nor I, although we are so abused by you, will leave off our care for you, and this shall soon be seen." As soon as he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails, and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long before God punished the Hebrews for their insolence and murmuring, for no small number of them died. And the place to this day retains the memory of this destruction, being named Kibroth-hattaavah,[1] which is, the graves of lust.

[1] Numb. xi. 34. Now perhaps *Erweis el-Ebeirig*, on the road from *Jebel Mûsa* to *'Akabah*.

CHAP. XIV.

How Moses sent some Spies to search out the Land of the Canaanites, and the Largeness of their Cities; and how when those who were sent returned after forty Days, and reported that they should not be a match for them; and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were troubled, and fell into despair, and resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.

§ 1.

WHEN Moses had led the Hebrews from thence to a place called Ravine, which was near the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to stay at, he gathered the multitude together in assembly, and standing in the midst of them, said, "Of the two blessings that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a fertile country, ye already are partakers of one by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we are now close to the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder our progress, neither king nor city, nor even all the inhabitants of the country, if they were all gathered together. Let us, therefore, prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign their land up to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles. Let us then send spies, who may search out the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of. But above all things, let us be of one mind and honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

§ 2. When Moses had said this, the multitude acquiesced in his proposals, and chose twelve spies of their most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan from the borders of Egypt, went as far as the city Hamath[1] and Mount Lebanon: and having learned the nature of the land and its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits of the land, and

[1] *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

by showing them the excellency of those fruits, and giving an account of the great quantity of the good things the land afforded, they stirred up the multitude to desire war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty of the enterprise, for the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over, and the hills were so high, that they could not climb them, and the cities were strong with walls, and solid fortifications round about them. They told them also that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. For indeed these spies who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all their difficulties would be greater there than any they had met with since they came out of Egypt, were dismayed at them themselves, and endeavoured to make the multitude so too.

§ 3. So supposing from what they had heard that it was impossible to get possession of the country, they broke up the assembly, and with their wives and children burst into lamentation, as if God would not assist them in deed, but only promised them fair in word. They also again blamed Moses, and raised a clamour against him and his brother Aaron the high priest. And they passed that night very ill, and in mutinous language against them; and in the morning they ran to the assembly intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and then return to Egypt.

§ 4. But two of the spies, Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, being afraid of the consequences, came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage, and neither to condemn God as having held out to them false promises, nor to hearken to those who had dismayed them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success and possession of the happiness promised them, for neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially as God espoused their cause and would fight for them. "Let us then go," said they, "against the enemy, without any suspicion of ill success, trusting in God as our champion, and following us who will be your leaders." Thus did these two exhort them,

and endeavoured to pacify their rage. Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own safety, but that he would put a stop to the blindness of the people, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by the distress of their present position. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, which declared to them the presence of God.

CHAP. XV.

How Moses was displeased at their conduct, and foretold, that God was angry, and that they should continue in the Wilderness for forty Years, and should not, during that time, either return to Egypt, or take possession of Canaan.

§ 1.

MOSES now came boldly up to the multitude, and informed them, that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children in correction: for, he said, that when he had entered the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears the destruction that was coming upon them, God reminded him what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him; that just now they had been induced by the timidity of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his promise to them; and that therefore, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without any fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years, as a punishment for this their transgression: but he promised to give that land to their children, and to make them the possessors of those good things, which, by their ungoverned passions, they had deprived themselves of.

§ 2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved and mourned, and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not hear of any such plan, for he was not moved to his determination from any human levity or anger, but had deliberately sentenced them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him and helped him in persuading the multitude; and though they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they thereby fell into calamities.

§ 3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men credit what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even still there is no one of the Hebrews who does not act as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him, if he should do anything disorderly; nay, there is no one but is obedient to the laws he ordained, even although they might be able to escape detection. There are also many other indications that his power was more than human. On one occasion there were some who had come from the parts beyond the Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers and at great expense, in honour of our temple: and yet, when they had offered their sacrifices they could not partake of their victims, because Moses had forbidden it in the case of people not accustomed to it, whose ancient rites were different to our own. Some of them did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices incomplete; nay, many were not able even at all to enter into the temple, but went their way, preferring submission to the laws of Moses to the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that anybody would convict them, but only out of regard to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to come from God, made this man to be esteemed as one above human nature. Nay, further, a little before the beginning

of the Jewish War, when Claudius was Emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine was come upon our country,[1] that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmæ; and when no less than seventy cors of flour were brought into thetemple at the feast of unleavened bread (these cors are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian, medimni), not one of the priests ventured to eat one crumb of it, even though so great distress was on the land, fearing the law, and that wrath which God ever visits on acts of wickedness, even when secret. So we ought not to wonder at what happened in those days, since even now the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us confess that our polity was founded by God, and that by means of Moses and his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one judge as he thinks fit.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS.—FROM THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

CHAP. I.

The Fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the Consent of Moses, and their Defeat.

§ 1.

NOW the life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, that it tempted them, although God had forbidden it, to make an attempt upon the Canaanites. For they would not hearken to the words of Moses and be quiet, but supposing they would be able to beat their enemies, even without his

[1] This great famine in the days of Claudius is again mentioned in Antiq. xx. 2, § 6, and Acts xi. 28.—W.

approbation, they suspected and accused him of trying to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always be in need of his assistance. So they were eager to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whom he befriended; and also that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would assist them now if they were willing to take pains. They also said, that they were competent of themselves to conquer the Canaanites, even although Moses should wish to alienate God from them, and that it was altogether for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so to rejoice in their deliverance from the outrages they endured under the Egyptians as to suffer the tyranny of Moses over them, and allow themselves to be deluded, and to live according to his will and pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns our nation out of kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, but God made him alone the author of all the knowledge of the future they had, and that they must still learn it from him; that it would be a piece of prudence in them to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their trust in God, and to resolve to take possession of the land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in then, and that in those desert places they might expect things would be still worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, making only God their general, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

§ 2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they marched against their enemies; but they were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, but received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain, and the remainder of the army, when their line of battle was broken, were pursued and fled in disorder to their camp. This unexpected misfortune made them quite despond, and they expected nothing that was good, inferring that this

reverse came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

§ 3. But when Moses saw how dismayed his countrymen were at this defeat, fearing that the enemies would be elated at their victory, and would attempt to push their advantage still further, he resolved to withdraw the host into the wilderness, to a further distance from the Canaanites; and the multitude giving themselves up again to his authority (for they perceived now that without his foresight their affairs would not be in a good condition), he moved his camp, and went further into the wilderness, intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should appoint a time for so doing.

CHAP. II.

The Rebellion of Corah, and of the Multitude, against Moses and Aaron, concerning the Priesthood.

§ 1.

THAT which is usually the case in great armies, and especially after reverses, namely that the discipline is hard to keep up, did now befall the Jews; for they being six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great number not likely to be docile to their officers, even had things gone well, were at this time more than usually angry, both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the reverse they had had. Such a rebellion broke out among them, as we know not the like either among the Greeks or barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were saved by Moses, who bore no malice, though he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but, notwithstanding the shameful way they had treated their legislator, and their disobedience to the commands which he himself had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, would have come upon them by this rebellion. I shall first

relate the cause of this rebellion, and then give an account of it, as also what settlement Moses made after it was over.

§ 2. Corah, one of the chief Hebrews, both from his family and his wealth, a person also that was able to speak well, and could easily sway the people by his speeches, seeing that Moses was held in exceeding great honour, was vexed at it from jealousy (for he was of the same tribe with Moses, and akin to him), and was put out because he thought he better deserved that position [on account of his great riches, and as not inferior to him in birth]. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his own branch of the family. He said that it was monstrous that they should allow Moses to hunt after and pave the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts to obtain it under the pretence of God's command; seeing that contrary to the laws he had given the priesthood to his brother Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in an arbitrary way on whom he pleased. He added that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by open force, because he not only took away their power against their will, but even while they were unapprized of his contrivances. For whoever was conscious to himself that he deserved any dignity, aimed to get it by persuasion, and not impudently to seize it; but those that believed it impossible to obtain their honour justly, wishing to appear good, abstained from force, but by cunning tricks and crooked courses got powerful; that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they thought themselves undetected in their designs, and not to suffer them to gain strength till they had detected them as open enemies. "For what reason," added he, "is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and age. And if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reuben would have it most justly, and

then Dathan and Abiram and Peleth would have it, for they are the oldest men of that tribe, and powerful on account of their great wealth also."

§ 3. Now Corah in saying this wished to appear to be looking after the public welfare, but was in reality trying to get that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he speak to the men of his own tribe, with malignant design, but plausible words, and as these words gradually spread to more of the people, and as the hearers still added to the calumnies cast upon Aaron, the whole host was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah there were two hundred and fifty of the principal men, who were eager to take the priesthood away from Moses' brother, and to bring him into disgrace. And the multitude themselves were in a ferment, and attempted to stone Moses; and gathered themselves together in the assembly with noise and confusion and disorder. And now they stood before the tabernacle of God, and cried out to remove the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for had it been God who chose one to perform the office of priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have given the office to such a one as was inferior to many others, and had he judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted the choice to the multitude, and not have left it to his own brother.

§ 4. Now, although Moses had long foreseen this jealousy of Corah's, and saw that the people were greatly excited, yet was he not dismayed, but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had got the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in other respects, and having the natural talent of swaying the multitude, he said, "O Corah, both you and all those with you (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men), seem to be worthy of honour, nor do I seek to deprive any of this whole company

of similar honour, though they may not be so rich or so worthy as you are, nor have I taken and given this office to my brother because he excelled in riches, for you exceed us both in the greatness of your wealth, nor indeed because of his family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our family one, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have thought right. And indeed if I had not bestowed this honour out of regard to God and to his laws, I should not have passed over myself and given it to another, as being nearer akin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him. And surely it would not be wise in me to expose myself to the dangers of acting illegally by bestowing this happy employment on another. But I am above such base practice, nor would God have overlooked being himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one to be his priest, and so freed us from that care. Aaron did not owe it to my favour, but to the will of God. He therefore resigns it to the competition of such as please to put in for it, stipulating only that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your living without rebellion to this honour, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God was the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept of it with your good will. And it would have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honour when God offered it; nay, it would have been exceedingly unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again whom he will have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your rebellion and disturbance on this account; and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither

with incense and fire. And do you, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and wait to see on which side he will give his vote upon this occasion, and do not make yourself greater than God. Do you also come as a candidate for the office. And I suppose we may also admit Aaron without offence, to offer himself to the vote, since he is of the same family as you, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be open to censure. Come ye, therefore, together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he, whose sacrifice God shall accept, shall be elected high priest, and shall be clear of the present charge brought against Aaron, that he had that favour granted him because he was my brother."

CHAP. III.

How those that stirred up this Rebellion were destroyed by the Will of God: and how Aaron, Moses' Brother, and his Posterity, retained the Priesthood.

§ 1.

WHEN Moses had said this, the multitude left off their turbulent behaviour, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said, for his proposal was good, and seemed so to the people. At that time, therefore, they dissolved the meeting. And on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the selection that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now the meeting proved a stormy one, as the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what would happen, for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of wrong-doing, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance: for they were afraid, that if this rebellion went on, the good order of their body politic would be destroyed. For the mass of the people naturally delighting in clamours against their governors, and changing their opinions after hearing every speaker, disturbed the

public tranquillity. And Moses sent messengers to Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly as had been agreed, and wait for the result of the solemn service. But they answered the messengers, that they would not obey the summons, nay, would not overlook Moses' behaviour, who was growing too great for all the people through intrigue. Now when Moses heard their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the company of Dathan, not being afraid at all to go to those insolent people; and they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his company, when they understood that Moses and the chiefs of the people were coming to them, came out with their wives and children in front of their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend them, in case Moses should use force.

§ 2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of all that is in heaven, in earth, and sea (for you are the worthiest witness of what I have done, for it has all been done by your command, and you afforded us assistance when we attempted anything, and showed mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses), come now and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought escapes your knowledge, so that you will not disdain to speak what is true for my vindication, without any regard to the ingratitude of these men. As for what happened before I was born, you know best, not learning it by hearsay, but being an eyewitness of it, and for what has been done of late, which these men, although they know otherwise, unjustly pretend to suspect, be my witness. When I enjoyed a quiet life, I left what by my own diligence and your providence I had got with Raguel my father-in-law, and sacrificed myself for this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I had great labour at first to obtain liberty for them, and since to provide for their safety, and have always shown alacrity to assist them in every danger. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose preservation is owing to my labours, do you, who showed me that fire at Mount Sinai, and made me hear its

voice, and see the several wonders which that place afforded me; you, who commanded me to go to Egypt, and declare your will to this people; you, who disturbed the happiness of the Egyptians, and gave us the opportunity of escaping from our slavery under them, and made the power of Pharaoh inferior to mine; you, who made the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and overwhelmed the Egyptians with destruction in those waves which had been driven back for us; you, who bestowed upon us the security of weapons when we were unarmed; you, who made wells that were corrupted to be fit for drinking, and supplied us with water that gushed out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest distress for it; you, who preserved our lives with food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us; you, who sent us such food from heaven as had never been known before; you, who gave us the knowledge of your laws, and appointed our polity; come, I say, Lord of the whole world, as my judge and witness that cannot be bribed, and show that I have never received any gift from any of the Hebrews to pervert justice, and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted for one that was rich; and have never used my power to the injury of the community. Yet I am suspected of a thing, the remotest from my practices, of having given the priesthood to Aaron, not at your command, but out of my own favour to him. Prove then now that all things are arranged by your providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by your will, and so attains its end: as also that you take care of those that have done good to the Hebrews; prove this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who accuse you of want of perception, as overcome by my contrivance. This you will do by inflicting an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of your glory, by removing them from the world, not in an ordinary manner, nor by their dying after the manner of other men; let the ground which they tread upon open about them and swallow them up, with their families and goods. This will be a proof of your power to all men, and a lesson of wisdom to those that entertain profane sentiments about you. And

I too shall so be found a faithful carrier-out of your commands. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, then preserve these men from every evil, and bring on me all that destruction which I have imprecated upon them. And when you have inflicted punishment on those that have wished to injure this people, bestow upon them concord and peace for the future. Save the multitude that follow your commands, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for you know yourself it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

§ 3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground began to move all of a sudden, and its motion was like that which the wind produces in the waves of the sea. The people were all dismayed, as the ground that was about their tents sunk down with a great and terrible sound, and swallowed up all that belonged to Dathan and Abiram. And they vanished so quickly that the eye could scarce take it in, for the earth that had opened about them closed again, and became as it was before, insomuch that such who saw it afterwards did not perceive that any such thing had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a proof of the power of God. And truly, anyone would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bore to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the company of Dathan that perished as pestilent men, they did not grieve for them.

§ 4. And now Moses called for those who contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God accepted should be elected. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the virtue of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled them: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in the censers which they brought with them, before the

tabernacle. Thereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any made by the hand of man, nor in those eruptions out of the earth caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as burst out spontaneously in forests by the violence of winds and by trees rubbing one against another, but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; and by its bursting out on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed, and that so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who were to be burned. And Moses, after those men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be handed down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put the censers of Corah and the rest near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what those men suffered for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the high priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God, and he and his children enjoyed the honour securely afterwards.

CHAP. IV.

What happened to the Hebrews during Thirty-eight Years in the Wilderness.

§ 1.

HOWEVER, the rebellion was so far from ceasing upon this, that it grew much stronger and fiercer. And the occcasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: for the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came not thus to pass without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him that God was so angry, and said that this had happened not

so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as from the solicitation of Moses; and that those men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and men most excellent all of them, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, would now put in for it, since he must have seen how those that first did so miserably perished. Moreover, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

§ 2. Now Moses, having been informed some time that an uproar was brewing, and fearing that they would mutiny a second time, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence, called the multitude together, and patiently heard them, making no apology for himself, lest he should embitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rod with the name of their tribe inscribed upon it, and said he should receive the priesthood, on whose rod God should put a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought them out, and they were known from one another by those who had brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had also the multitude. Now as to all the rest, they saw them still in the same form Moses had received them, but they saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, and ripe fruit; they were almonds, the rod having been made of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to marvel at the judgment of God concerning them; so that henceforth they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the high priesthood peaceably. And thus God selected him three several times, and he retained that

honour without further disturbance. And thus this rebellion of the Hebrews, which had been a serious one, and had lasted a great while, was at last ended.

§ 3. And Moses, who had exempted the tribe of Levi from war and military duties, and set it apart for the divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should get possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites, and allow them land in the suburbs, two thousand cubits all round the walls of those cities. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay tithe of the annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude. I now think it necessary to set down what is paid by all only to the priests.

§ 4. Moses commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year received from the people. Moreover, he decreed that the people were to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground, and to offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that were appointed for sacrifices, if it were a male, to the priests to be slain, that they and their entire families might eat it in the holy city; and that the owners of those first-born beasts not appointed for sacrifice by the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; and for the first-born of a man, five shekels. They were also to have the first-fruits out of the shearing of sheep, and when any baked bread and made loaves, they were to give some of what they baked to them. Moreover, those that have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot what is shorn off to the priests. Such also as call themselves Corban to God, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be

too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine on what sum they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival and not a religious one, they are obliged to bring the tripe and breast and right shoulder of the sacrifice to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set down in the previous book. He also ordered, that out of everything allotted for the priests, their servants, daughters, and wives should partake as well as themselves, except what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for of them none but the males of the families of the priests might eat, and that in the temple on the same day they were offered.

§ 5. When Moses had made these regulations, after the rebellion was over, he removed with the whole host, and came to the borders of Idumæa. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumæans, and asked him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to give him what guarantees he should desire, that he should be secured from any injury. He asked him also to allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and said, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassage from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people out armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force their passage. And when Moses consulted God, he told him not to begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

§ 6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end (having completed the fortieth year since she left Egypt) on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They had a public funeral for her at great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call Sin;[1] and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people in the following manner. He took a heifer, that had never been used to the plough or to hus-

[1] A hill, not identified, in or near *Jebel Magrah*, at the south end of the Negeb, or south country.

bandry, without blemish, and entirely red, to a little distance from the camp, to a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this the entire heifer was burned as it was, together with its skin and entrails; and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. And when any persons were defiled by touching a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he also enjoined them to do when the tribes should come into their promised inheritance.

§ 7. Now when this purification, which their leader enjoined after the mourning for his sister, was over, he caused the army to remove, and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra,[1] which was encompassed by a high mountain, Aaron ascended the mountain in the sight of the whole host, for the place was over against them, Moses having before told him that he was to die there. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was his oldest son, and died while the multitude gazed at him. He died in the same year in which he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred and twenty three years. He died on the first day of the lunar month called by the Athenians Hecatombæon, by the Macedonians Lous, and by the Hebrews Abba.

[1] Petra is situated a short distance east of *Wâdy 'Arabah;* near it is *Jebel Harûn*, Mount Hor, on which, according to tradition, Aaron died.

CHAP. V.

How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole Army, and then divided their Land by lot to two Tribes and a half of the Hebrews.

§ 1.

THE people mourned for Aaron thirty days, and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the host from that place, and came to the river Arnon,[1] which rising in the mountains of Arabia,[2] and running through all the wilderness, falls into the lake Asphaltitis,[3] and forms the boundary between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men with the good things it produces. Moses, therefore, sent messengers to Sihon the king of this country, asking that he would grant his army a passage through it on whatever terms he should please to require: he promised that no injury should be done either to the country which Sihon governed, or to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though they should desire to sell them even their water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and made every preparation to hinder their crossing the Arnon.

§ 2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult, and determining to wean the Hebrews from their inaction and consequent distress, which had been the occasion of their former rebellion (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds), he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and also promised him the victory, he was himself very confident for the fray, and encouraged the soldiers, calling on them now to take pleasure in fighting, since God gave them leave to do so. They

[1] Now *Wâdy Mojib.*
[2] The hills separating Moab from the desert country to the east.
[3] The Dead Sea.

then, upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not equally confident now the Hebrews were going to attack him, but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed itself very courageous, was now found to be timorous. So they could not sustain the first onset, nor stand against the Hebrews, but fled away, thinking this would afford them more likelihood of safety than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, though they reaped no advantage from them when they were forced to fly to them: for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away in the direction of their cities. And the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the efforts they had already made: and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing all kinds of missiles, and also having on nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped death were sorely wounded. And they were more distressed with thirst, than even with those that fought against them, for it was the summer season, and as most of them hurried down in confusion to the river out of a desire to drink, the Hebrews, as they fled *en masse*, came round them, and shot at them, so that what with darts, and what with arrows, they slew them all. Sihon also their king was slain. And the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took the prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and they took the enemies prisoners, who could no way put a stop to their progress, since all their fighting-men had been slain. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in council nor courageous in action. And the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situated between three rivers, and naturally resem-

bling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit, the river Jabbok[1] bounding its northern side, which, running into the Jordan, loses its own name, and takes the other's, while the Jordan itself runs along by it on the west.

§ 3. When matters were in this state, Og, the king of Gilead[2] and Gaulanitis,[3] fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. And though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour, but was disappointed in his hope, as he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. Then Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew the cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the country, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the quantity of property. Now Og had very few equals either in size of body or handsomeness of appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the size and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and size, as they took his bed at Rabbah,[4] the royal city of the Ammonites; its material was iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length nine cubits. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they took sixty cities strongly fortified that had been subject to him, and all got much spoil both in general and in particular.

[1] Now *Wâdy Zerka*.

[2] See note, p. 12.

[3] Now *Jaulân*, east of Jordan.

[4] Rabbah or Rabbath Ammon, afterwards called Philadelphia, is now *'Amman*, in the highlands of Gilead.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Balaam the Prophet, and what kind of a Man he was.

§ 1.

NOW Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho.[1] This city has a very happy situation, and is very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very elated, and very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had first offered, for a few days, sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities by storm. His reason for making war upon them was as follows.

§ 2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who inherited from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much alarmed on account of his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with the fact, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any further. So, with more haste than wisdom, he resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had had such great successes even against odds, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites, knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by the Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets of that time, and one that was friendly to them, sent some of their principal men with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses for the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly, and when he had supped, he inquired God's will as to the matter for which

[1] Now called *Ghôr es-Seisebân.*

the Midianites entreated him to come to them? And when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them that God was opposed to his desire, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions, for that the host whom they entreated him to come to curse was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

§ 3. Then the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this [second] trial, and bade him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; and when a divine angel met him in the way, as he was in a narrow passage hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode, perceiving that it was a divine spirit that met him, thrust Balaam against one of the walls, without any regard to the stripes which Balaam, being hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to press on to her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, she made use by the will of God of a human voice, and complained to Balaam of his acting unjustly to her; for whereas he had had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, not understanding that she was hindered from serving him on his present errand by the will of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the ass speaking like a human being, the angel appeared plainly to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass, and informed him that it was not in fault, but that he had himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was ready to return back again, but God urged him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should utter nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

§ 4. When God had given him this charge, he went on to Balak; and when the king had received him with distinction, he asked to be led up one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also ascended the mountain with a royal retinue, and took the prophet along with him. This mountain lay over their heads, and was sixty furlongs distant from the camp. Now when Balaam saw the Hebrews, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; which the king quickly did. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some sign betokening the rout of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their help and guide. For there is no nation among mankind that you will not be esteemed superior to in virtue, and in regard to the best rules of life, and such as are pure from wickedness, and you will leave these excellent rules to children better than yourselves, as you are the only people that God regards, who secures your being happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and all the earth, as well as the sea, shall be filled with your glory; and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in every region of it with inhabitants of your race. O blessed host! marvel that you are become so many from one father; and truly the land of Canaan can now hold you as being yet comparatively few; but know that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live in the islands as well as on the mainland, and shall be more in number than the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not leave off his care of you; but will afford you an abundance of all good things in peace, with victory and dominion in war, if the children of your enemies have a desire to fight against you, and are so bold as to come to arms, and assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor so as to give joy to their children and wives. To such a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who

is able to diminish the abundance of some, and to supply the wants of others."

§ 5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, not being master of himself, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. And Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he and his allies had invited him on the promise of great presents: for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had sung their praises, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if you rightly consider the whole matter, can you suppose, that it is in our power either to be silent or to say anything when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? for it puts such words as it pleases into our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so zealously brought me hither, and why I took this journey. It was my prayer that I might satisfy you as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than my resolve to serve you, for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely powerless, either to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he possesses us, nothing that we say is our own. I certainly did not intend to praise this host, nor to recount the good things which God intended to do for their race, but he being favourable to them, and anxious to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige you and the Midianites, whose request it is not becoming for me to reject, come, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." And when Balak had agreed to this, God would not even at the second sacrifice consent to his cursing the Israelites. And Balaam sacrificed yet a third time, having erected other altars, nor could he even then curse the Israelites, but he fell upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall kings and most eminent cities, some of which were not yet inhabited; which events have come to pass to those persons, in the foregoing ages, and down to my own memory,

both by sea and by land. From which accomplishment of all those predictions that he made, one may conjecture that the rest will have their accomplishment in the future.

§ 6. But Balak, being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam, not thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, as he was just starting on his journey and was about to cross the Euphrates, he sent for Balak and the princes of the Midianites, and spoke thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present (for I am obliged even against the will of God to gratify you), it is true no entire ruin can come on the nation of the Hebrews, either by war, or by plague, or by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident destroy them. For the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from all evil, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish: but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought hurt to them. But if you desire to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions. Select such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and able to take by storm and conquer the modesty of those that behold them by their beauty, and send them, when decked and trimmed to the highest degree possible, to the Israelites' camp; and give them injunctions, when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, to allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them pretend to go, and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to abandon their own laws, and the worship of that God who gave them, and to worship the gods of the Midianites and the Moabites; for by this means God will be angry with them." And when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

§ 7. And when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had advised, the young men of the Hebrews were captivated by their beauty, and came to discourse

with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their love. And they received their words gladly, and complied with their wishes, and when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their desires were at their height, they began to talk of departing. Then these men became greatly disconsolate at the idea of their departure, and implored them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives, and they promised them they should be made mistresses of all they had. This they said with oaths, and called on God to witness what they promised, and that with tears in their eyes, and all other marks of concern such as might move their pity. And the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their intimacy, began to speak to them as follows.

§ 8. "Most excellent young men, we have houses of our own and plenty of good things there, together with the natural affection and love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of any want of such things that we come to discourse with you, nor did we submit to your wishes in the idea of prostituting the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, treating you with such honours as friendship required. And now, since you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled at the idea of our departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we receive such proof of your good-will as we think can alone be considered sufficient, we shall be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents in dishonour;" and they begged they would excuse their anxiety about that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any pledge they could desire, and would contradict them in nothing, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then (said they) this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and modes of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your food is peculiar to yourselves, and your drink unlike that of others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for

your wives, that you should worship our gods: nor can there be any other proof of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than your worshipping the same gods that we do. And no one could censure you, now you are come into this country, for worshipping its gods, especially as our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody but yourselves." So they said they must either adopt the ways of all other people, or else they must look out for another world, where they could live by themselves according to their own laws.

§ 9. Now the young men were induced by the love they had for these women to think they spoke very well, so they gave themselves up to what they urged, and transgressed their own laws, and believed in many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to the gods established by the laws of that country, they were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do everything that the women would have them do, contrary to their own laws; insomuch that lawlessness already spread through the whole host of the young men, and they fell into a rebellion much worse than the former, and ran risk of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went in for them with insatiable inclinations, and even some of the principal men, who were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, were also corrupted with the rest.

§ 10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, companied with Cozbi a Midianitish woman, the daughter of Zur, a prince in that country; and being bidden by the woman to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, both by sacrificing in a manner different to the national custom, and by taking a strange woman to wife. When things were in this condition, Moses was afraid that matters would grow worse, and called the people to an assembly, and accused nobody by name, being unwilling to drive into despair those who, by remaining unknown, might repent, but he said, that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves or of their fathers, in preferring pleasure to God and to living according to his will: that it was fit they should change

such courses, while their affairs were still in a good state; and think that was true fortitude which offered not violence to their laws, but which resisted their lusts. He also said that it was unreasonable, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they had abundance, what they had gained when they had little. And by saying this he endeavoured to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

§ 11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Do you, Moses, make use of such laws as you are fond of, and have ratified by custom, for, if things had not been thus, you would have been often punished before now, and would have known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but you shall not have me one of your followers in your tyrannical commands, for you do nothing else hitherto, but, under pretext of laws and God, wickedly impose on us slavery and gain dominion for yourself, while you deprive us of the sweetness of life, and of that free will which is the right of freemen, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this fellow is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, claiming to punish according to his laws everyone's acting as is most agreeable to himself; but you yourself better deserve to suffer punishment, who presume to abolish what everyone acknowledges to be good for him, and aim to make your absurd notions have more force than the opinions of everybody. And I should justly lose my present fortune, if, thinking it right, I should be afraid to admit it. I have married, as you say, a strange woman (for you shall hear what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I do not intend to conceal myself). I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom I think fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not, like one that lives under a tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall anyone have cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

§ 12. Now when Zimri had spoken thus about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their

peace, both from fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring Zimri's insolence before the public any more, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the profligacy of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude: so the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischief would have proceeded further, if Zimri had not first been slain, which came about in the following way. Phinehas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries from the dignity of his father (for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses' brother), was greatly troubled at what had been done by Zimri, and resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his outrageous behaviour should grow worse from impunity, and to prevent this transgression from proceeding further, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was morally and physically so brave, that, when he was in any danger he did not leave off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory; so he went into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and Cozbi also. Upon which all the young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do noble actions, imitated Phinehas' boldness, and slew those that were accused of the same crime as Zimri. And many of those that had transgressed perished by the noble conduct of those young men: the rest all died of a plague, which God himself inflicted upon them; and all their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had egged them on, were esteemed by God partners in their wickedness, and died. And there perished of the host no less than twenty-four thousand.

§ 13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites; concerning which expedition I shall speak presently, when I have first related what I have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here. For although Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, when hindered from doing so by divine Providence, yet suggested that advice to them,

by adopting which our enemies well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their practices, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did Moses do him great honour by setting down his prophecies in writing. And though it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and convict him of so doing, he still gave his attestation to Balaam, and thought him worthy of mention. But let everyone think of this as he pleases.

CHAP. VII.

How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.

§ 1.

NOW Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the reason I have mentioned, in all twelve thousand men, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed as their commander that Phinehas whom I mentioned a little before as observing the laws of the Hebrews, and inflicting punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites hearing that the Hebrews were coming, and were all but upon them, assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited their coming. When they were come, and had joined battle with them, an immense number of the Midianites fell, nor could they be numbered they were so many, and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who gave his name to the chief city of all Arabia, which is still called by the whole Arabian nation Areceme,[1] from the name of the king that built it, but is called by the Greeks Petra. Now when the enemies were routed, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took much prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they spared the virgins, as Moses had

[1] See p. 248, where the name is given in the form Arce.

commanded Phinehas to do, who indeed came back bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey: fifty-two thousand oxen, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses divided the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites, and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour, and having no misfortune that hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

§ 2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and to be the commander of the army if they should at any time stand in need of one; and it was at the command of God, that the authority was committed to him. Now Joshua had been instructed in all the learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

§ 3. It was at this time that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, as they had a multitute of cattle, as well as all other kinds of property, took counsel together and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had captured by the spear, because it was fruitful and good for feeding cattle. But Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as a handsome excuse for avoiding the war, called them arrant cowards: and said, that they had only contrived a specious excuse for their cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great hardships to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were unwilling to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those enemies whom God had showed them, and obtain their land.

But they, seeing that Moses was angry with them, and supposing he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made a defence for themselves; and said, that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had got in convenient places, and so might be more free and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles. They added also, that when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children and wives and possessions, if he would allow them, they would go along with the rest of the army. And Moses was pleased with what they said: so he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chiefs of the tribes, and permitted those tribes to possess the land of the Amorites, upon condition that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until it was finished. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatever else they had that might hinder their prosecution of the war.

§ 4. Moses also now built ten of the forty-eight cities of the Levites: three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment as that of the life of the high priest under whom the flight happened, for after the death of the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile the relations of him that was slain might kill the slayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city of refuge to which he had fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for refuge were these: Bezer[1] on the borders of Arabia, Ramoth[2] in the land of Gilead, and Golan[3] in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses' command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

§ 5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an

[1] Now probably *Kusr el-Besheir*, in Moab, near Dibon.
[2] Probably *Reimûn*. [3] Perhaps *Sahem el-Jaulân*.

eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was Zelophehad, who had left no male children, but only daughters, and asked him, Whether these daughters might inherit his land or not? He made answer, that if they should marry in their own tribe, they should carry their estate along with them, but if they should dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they should leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that everyone's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

CHAP. VIII.

The Polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among Mankind.

§ 1.

WHEN forty years all but thirty days were completed, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila[1] now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spoke to them as follows.

§ 2. "Fellow-soldiers, who have been partners with me in long distress, since now the will of God, and the course of old age, as I am a hundred and twenty, requires that I should depart out of this life; and since I am not to help or aid you in what remains to be done beyond the Jordan, being prevented by God, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and remembrance for myself when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity. Come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal possession of good things to your children after you, and so let me go out of the world. And I deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already

[1] The Abel Shittim of Numb. xxxiii. 49; now *Kefrein*, at the northern end of the *Ghôr es-Seisebân*.

done for you, and because when souls are about to leave the body they speak with all virtue. O children of Israel, there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favour of God, for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; and if you live according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, exhort you to do, you will never cease being esteemed fortunate, and an object of envy by all men; you will then secure the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that at present you are in want of. Only be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow, and prefer no other constitution of government to the laws now given you, neither disregard that mode of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other. If you do this, you will be the most valiant of all men in waging wars, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for when God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are in store for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the oldest and first of blessings, and bestows abundance of others afterwards, so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than other nations, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, if you hearken to and observe those laws which by divine dictation I have drawn up for you, and withal meditate upon their wisdom. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I commend you to the law of self-control, to the order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose will I have myself been useful to you, will not put an end now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your protector, in your practice of virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest Eleazar, and Joshua, your senate, and the chiefs of your tribes, will suggest to you the best advice, by following

which you will continue to be happy; to whom do you hearken without reluctance, being aware that all such as know well how to be governed will also know how to govern, if they come to that authority themselves. And do not suppose liberty to consist in disliking what your leaders call on you to do, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been. And do not ever indulge in such a degree of passion against them as you have often ventured to show to me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. I now put you in mind of this not to reproach you (for I do not desire, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time when I suffered that treatment from you, I was not angry with you), but to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that it will be for your security never to treat insolently those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over the Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. For if you shall once have been induced by your wealth to despise and disregard virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and that with very great disgrace. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, fill every sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it will be too late. So I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to judge it for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own polity. I also further exhort you to overthrow their altars and their groves, and whatever temples they have among them, and to consume all such, their nation, and their very memory, with fire, for by this means alone the safety of

of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your nature degenerating from ignorance of virtue into vice, I have also by divine suggestion ordained for you laws, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

§ 3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws, and the constitution of their polity written in a book. And they fell into tears, and showed great affection to their leader, remembering what a number of dangers he had passed through for them, and what care he had taken of their preservation. They desponded also about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another head like him; and feared that God would take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on that account, insomuch, that the whole body of the people burst into tears with such passion, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation, and to call them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep that form of government he had given them: and then the assembly broke up.

§ 4. I shall now first describe our polity, which was agreeable to the merit and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities what our original constitution was, and shall then proceed to narrate other matters. Now our constitution is all still in writing, as Moses left it, and I shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor anything besides what he left us, I shall only so far innovate, as to digest the various laws into a regular system, for they were left by him casually written down, as he had information on each matter from God. I have thought it necessary to premise this beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of a mistake herein. I shall now only discuss the laws that belong to our polity. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a work concerning our

manners of life and their reasons, which I propose with God's assistance to write after I have finished the present work.

§ 5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterwards determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be one holy city in the land of Canaan, and that situate on the finest and best spot, and chosen by God himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, reared not of hewn stones, but of such as are gathered together at random: which stones, when they are whited over with plaster, will have a handsome appearance, and look clean. Let the ascent to it be not by steps, but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor temple, in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

§ 6. He that dares to blaspheme God, let him be stoned, and let him hang upon a tree all day, and then be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

§ 7. Let those that live in all parts, however remote, of the land which the Hebrews shall occupy, come to the city where the temple shall be placed three times a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and pray for future blessings, and let them maintain a friendly feeling with one another by meeting and feasting together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by their thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing their memory of one another: for if they do not thus converse together occasionally, they will appear mere strangers to one another.

§ 8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a second tenth, besides that which I have allotted to the priests and Levites, which may indeed be sold in the country, but the value is to be expended on those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess to the honour of the giver.

§ 9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman which is a harlot, for the Deity is not pleased with anything that comes from lust, and none can be worse than the prostitution of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the lining of a bitch, either of one used for hunting, or keeping sheep, for sacrifice to God.

§ 10. Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem, nor steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gift dedicated to any god.

§ 11. Let not any of you wear a garment made of woollen and linen together, for that is allowed to the priests alone.

§ 12. When the multitude have come together to the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither woman nor children be hindered from hearing, no, nor slaves either; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out, for so they will not be guilty of sin, since they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined. The laws also will have a great authority among sinners by foretelling what they will suffer if they break them, and by imprinting in their souls by hearing what they command, that so there may always be within their minds the object of the laws, by neglecting and violating which they cause their own hurt. Let children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can learn, and ensure their happiness.

§ 13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them by their deliverance out of the land of Egypt twice every day, both when the day begins, and when the hour for sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only as return for past favours, but also calling down future ones. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same on their arms: as also they are to bear inscribed on their head and arm whatever can declare the power

of God and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear everywhere conspicuous about them.

§ 14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, such as have been foremost in the exercise of virtue and righteousness, and let every judge have two assessors allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any, when these are present, or to carry themselves in an insolent manner to any, it being natural that reverence towards those in high office among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those who judge have power to decide as they think right, unless anyone can show that they have taken bribes to the perversion of justice, or can bring any other charge against them, proving them to have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not right to decide cases wrongly, out of regard to gain or the position of one of the suitors, but to esteem what is right before all things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence: for justice is the power of God. He therefore that favours those in high positions, makes them more powerful than God himself. But if these judges are unable to decide on the cases that come before them (as happens not unfrequently in human affairs), let them send the case undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the senate, determine as shall seem good to them.

§ 15. But let not a single witness be credited, but only three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their past lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex. And let not slaves be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they will not speak truth, either from hope of gain or fear of punishment. But if anyone be believed to have borne false witness, let him, if convicted, suffer the very same punishment which he, against whom he bore witness, would have suffered.

§ 16. If a murder be committed in any place, and the

perpetrator of it be not found, and no one is suspected of having hated the man and therefore killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made, and rewards offered for his apprehension, but if no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the body was found, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a ravine and place unfit for ploughing or planting, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and senate of that city, shall take water, and shall openly declare over the head of the heifer, that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been accessories to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

§ 17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution, and may you never have an inclination to any other polity, and may you always love that form, having the laws as your masters, and doing all things according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you should desire a king, let him be one of your own nation, let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues: let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom, but let him do nothing without the high priest and the vote of the senators, let him not have a great number of wives, nor seek abundance of riches or horses, whereby he might grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become too powerful for your welfare.

§ 18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, either our own, or of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those land-marks away, which are, as it were, a sure decree of rights made by God himself to last for ever, since the going beyond limits, and taking others' ground, is the occasion of wars and tumults; for those that remove boundaries are not far off from subverting the laws.

§ 19. He that plants a piece of land, whose trees produce

fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor to make use of the fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature is forced unseasonably the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the owner's use; but let him gather all that is grown in the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him gather it and carry it to the holy city, and spend it, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends and with orphans and widows. But in the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

§ 20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen; and not to put other animals under the same yoke with them; but to plough with beasts that are of the same kind. Seeds also are to be pure and unmixed, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike. Nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together; for there is reason to fear, that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, taking its first rise in small and trifling matters. Nor is anything to be allowed, by imitation of which any errors may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even they may be seen to in a blameless manner.

§ 21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also, but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, to be a god-send to them for their subsistence. In like manner, when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruit of their olive trees, for those to gather who have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the complete gathering of all will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will make your land more fertile if, in producing its fruits, you do not merely look after your own interest, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen,

when they tread the ears of corn in the threshing floor; for it is not just to restrain those that have laboured with us, and worked in its production, from the fruit. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe from touching them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have, and that whether they be of your own country or strangers, being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe, but let them not carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust to grudge those that desire it their partaking of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and that while the season is at its height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some out of modesty hesitate to touch those fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them, if Israelites, as if they were partners and owners, on account of their kindred, and if they come from other countries, let them hospitably partake of those things which God has given in their proper season. For that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which anyone out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only to reap the advantage for themselves, but also to give to others out of generosity; wishing by this means to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly contribute, out of their great superfluities, to foreigners also. As for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one by the public executioner, let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a freeman, because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own merit. For it is proper for you, who have had experience of afflictions in Egypt and in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and as you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute the same plenty out of sympathy to such as stand in need of it.

§ 22. Besides those two tenths, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the

other for feasting, you are to bring every third year a third tenth to be distributed to those that want, also to women that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all to the temple, and when they have blessed God for the land which has produced them, which he has given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. And when anyone has done this, and has brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that were for the Levites, and for feasting, as he is about to go home, let him stand before the temple precincts, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land and a large to enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has publicly declared that he has fully paid the tenths according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving to them the good things which he has already given them, and by adding further what he could bestow upon them.

§ 23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. And let not free men marry slaves, even if strongly impelled by love to do so, for it is decent and for the dignity of persons to govern their affections. Furthermore, no one ought to marry an harlot; whose marriage-sacrifices, owing to the prostitution of her body, God will not receive. For so the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous, if they are not born of base parents, or of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If anyone has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards find her to be so, let him bring his action and accuse her, and let him make use of such proofs as he is furnished with, and let the father or brother of the damsel, or the nearest of kin to her after them defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she has not been guilty, let her live with her husband

that accused her, and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great grounds for suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father. But if he prove the damsel guilty of having been seduced, and she is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she was lawfully married; but if she is the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any man has two wives, and if he greatly regards and is kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved is younger than one born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance (for that double portion is what I have allotted the eldest in the laws), let not it be permitted: for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him in the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath seduced a damsel espoused to another man, if he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be seduced, either for pleasure, or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, when nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath seduced a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be unwilling that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of his outrage. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatever (and many such causes happen among men), let him in writing give assurance that he will never cohabit with her any more, for so she will have liberty to marry another husband, although

before this bill of divorce be given she is not to be permitted so to do: but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband should wish to marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and it will solace widows in their affliction to be married to the nearest relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and testify that the brother will not take her to wife, but will outrage the memory of his deceased brother, though she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children: and when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to the marriage, whether he gives a good or bad reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say that he deserves this treatment from her, as having outraged the memory of the deceased. And then let him go away from the senate, and bear this reproach all his life long, and let her marry whom she pleases of such as seek her in marriage. And if any man take captive either a virgin, or one that has been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to live with her as his wife, before she has shaven her head and put on mourning, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that so, having given vent to her sorrow for them, she may afterwards betake herself to feasting and matrimony. For it is good and right for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, and pay no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many days are sufficient to sensible persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage. But if, when he has satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make

her a slave, but let her go away where she pleases, and have the privilege of a free woman.

§ 24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them or think themselves wiser than they, let their parents first admonish them in words (for they are sufficient judges for their sons), and let them say to them, that they cohabited not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their wealth by joining both their properties together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and to supply them with what they then should want. And let them say also, "When you were born we received you with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for you, and brought you up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for your preservation, and instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice you to have given so many indications of your contempt of us, reform and act more wisely for the time to come, considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same title, when they do not meet with due gratitude from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment, which may you never experience!" Now if the insolence of the young men be thus cured, let them escape the disgrace which their former errors deserved, for so the lawgiver will be good, and parents happy, if they never behold either a son or daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions of theirs to reclaim their son are evidently useless, and the offender makes the laws implacable enemies to him in consequence of the insolence he has repeatedly offered his parents, let him be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, the multitude following, and let him be stoned, and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And let all whom the laws condemn to die upon any account whatever be buried so.

Let our enemies that fall in battle also be buried, nor let any dead body lie above the ground, and so suffer punishment beyond what justice requires.

§ 25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury either meat or drink, for it is not just to make gain of the misfortunes of one of your own nation; but if you have assisted his necessities, think it a gain if you obtain their gratitude and the reward which will come to you from God for your humanity.

§ 26. Those who have borrowed either money, or any sort of fruits whether dry or wet, when their affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be in a prosperous condition, shall bring them back, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and expecting to have them again if they shall want them. But if they are shameless about restoring what has been borrowed, let not the lender enter the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning the matter, but let him ask for a pledge outside the house, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes to him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God by his nature showing mercy to the poor. It is also unlawful to take a millstone, or any thing thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food with, and so be undone by their necessity.

§ 27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but let him that has purloined gold or silver pay double. If anyone kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, even if the man were only breaking through the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what was stolen, except in the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay the fine laid upon him, be his slave to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

§ 28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let

him serve him six years, and in the seventh let him go free: but if he have children by a female slave in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his good-will and natural affection to his wife and children, he will serve still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee (which is the fiftieth year), and let him then take away with him his children and wife, who shall be free also.

§ 29. If anyone find gold or silver in the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in the case of cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep them, appealing to God that he does not desire to appropriate what belongs to another.

§ 30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, or from a storm fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, having a sympathy with it in its pain.

§ 31. It is also a duty to show the way to those who do not know it, and not to esteem it a matter for sport to hinder another's convenience by setting him in a wrong way.

§ 32. In like manner let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

§ 33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron used, let him that is smitten be avenged, if he die immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if, when he is carried home, he lie sick several days, and then die, let him that smote him escape punishment. But if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his recovery, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his illness, and for all that he has paid the doctors. He that kicks a woman with child, so that she miscarries, let him pay a fine in money as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the population by the destruction of what was in her womb: and let money also be given the woman's husband by him. But if she die of

the kick, let him also be put to death, the law judging it right that life should go for life.

§ 34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any deadly poison, or any other harmful drug, and if he be caught with such, let him be put to death, suffering the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

§ 35. He that mutilates anyone, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is mutilated will accept of money instead, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he has suffered, and permits him to take compensation, unless he wishes to be more severe.

§ 36. Let him that is the owner of an ox, which pusheth with its horns, kill it: but if it gores and kills anyone in the threshing-floor, let it be put to death by stoning, and let it not be thought fit for food; and if its owner be convicted of having known what its nature was, and did not keep it tied up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox killing the man. And if the ox have killed a male or female slave, let it be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain;[1] but if it be an ox that is gored and killed, let both the oxen, that which gored, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide the price between them.

§ 37. Let those that dig a well or pit be careful to lay boarding over it, and so keep it covered up, not to hinder any person from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of anyone falling in. And if anyone's beast fall into such a well or pit not covered up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from tumbling off and losing their lives.

§ 38. Let him that has received anything in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing,

[1] We may here note, that thirty shekels, the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, Matt. xxvi. 15, and xxvii. 3, was the old value of a bought servant, or slave, among that people.—W.

and let no one venture to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, whether man or woman, even although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and that where they could not be convicted of it by anybody, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he has, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as to procure him the approval of others, but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed. ' But if he in whom the trust was reposed, lose what he was intrusted with, without any fraud of his own, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that it has not been lost willingly or with a wicked intention, and that he has not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame. But if he has made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he received. And as in the case of these trusts, if anyone defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him of their wages, let him remember that we ought not to defraud a poor man of his wages, knowing that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be deferred, but to be paid that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate fruit of his labour.

§ 39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to pity them, because they were born of wicked parents, than to hate them, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, as young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from our instruction, from their proud refusal of such instruction.

§ 40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be held in detestation, and avoid the company of those who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of our kind. Let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they have destroyed beforehand what would procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have also transfused that effe-

minacy to their body. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld either men or any other animals.

§ 41. Let this be the constitution of your polity in time of peace, and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance. And may that time never come which may innovate any of these things, and change them for the contrary! But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either involuntarily or intentionally, come let us give a few precepts concerning them, that so being apprized beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to seek what is to be done, and have to meet emergencies unprepared. May you be a laborious people and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and so possess the land God has given you without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it and afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the customs which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God has approved of, and delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether now in your own days, or hereafter in the days of your posterity, take place out of your own borders. And when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to use words to them before you take up weapons of war, and assure them that, although you have a numerous army, and horses and weapons, and, before all, God propitious and ready to assist you, yet you desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which would be a gain you do not wish. And if they hearken to you, it will be right for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust in their own strength as superior to yours, and will wrong you, lead your army against them, making God your supreme commander, and appointing as lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you. For many commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done quickly, are disadvantageous to those that use them. Lead

a chosen army, composed of such men as have all strength of body and boldness of soul, and sift out the timid, lest they run away in time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those who have lately built houses, and have not yet lived a year in them, and to those who have planted vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of the fruits, to stay at home, as well as those also who are betrothed or have lately married wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for their enjoyments, purposely play the cowards [on account of their wives].

§ 42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not ravage the land by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, considering that they were planted for the benefit of men, and that, if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not the cause of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer from it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves to another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you, but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, except the nation of the Canaanites, for as to them you must destroy them root and branch.

§ 43. Take care especially in your battles, that no woman use the dress of a man, nor any man the garment of a woman.

§ 44. This was the form of polity left us by Moses, who had already delivered laws in writing forty years before, concerning which I shall speak in another work. And on the following days (for he called them to assembly continually), he delivered blessings on those who should obey the laws, and curses upon those who should not live according to them, but should transgress what was prescribed to them. After this he read them a poetic song composed in hexameter verse, which he wrote down in the holy book. It contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterwards, and all things have happened agreeably to it all along, and do still happen; he has not at all deviated

from the truth. And he delivered these books to the priests as well as the ark, into which they put the ten commandments written on two tables, and the tabernacle also. Moreover, he exhorted the people that, when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injury done to them by the Amalekites, but make war against them, and take vengeance on them, for the hurt they did them, when they were in the wilderness. Also, when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole of its inhabitants, as they were to do, he told them that they were to erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem,[1] between the two mountains of Gerizim on the right, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the host should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And first those that were upon Mount Gerizim were to pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent in the worship of God, and the observance of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses told them; while the other tribes gave assent, and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced from Ebal upon those that should transgress these laws, the tribes answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what was said. Moses also wrote down those blessings and curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was about to die, he wrote those blessings and curses on each side of the altar, where he says the people stood and sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any sacrifice, for it was not lawful to do so. These are the constitutions of Moses, and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

§ 45. On the next day, Moses called the people together to assembly with the women and children, and the very slaves, that they might engage themselves to the observa-

[1] Now *Nâblus*, lying in the valley between Mount Gerizim on the south, and Mount Ebal on the north; the peculiar natural features of the ground lent themselves admirably to the great ceremony of the ratification of the law.

tion of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either to gratify their kindred, or out of fear of anyone, or indeed for any motive whatever, think anything ought to be preferred to these laws, and so transgress them. That in case anyone of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their polity, they should take vengeance upon them both publicly and privately, and when they had overcome them, should root them out from the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least trace of such madness: and, if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should show that what was done was contrary to their will. And the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

§ 46. Moses taught them also how their sacrifices would be most acceptable to God, and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their guidance,[1] as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was still present, and recapitulated what Moses had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and how he had drawn up for them a code of laws, and procured them an excellent polity, and foretold that God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed the worship of God, they would experience the following miseries: their land would be full of arms and enemies, their cities would be overthrown, and their temple would be burnt, and they would be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: and they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them in their sufferings. Yet, said he, that God who founded your nation, will restore your cities and also the temple to your citizens. And you will lose these things not once only, but often."

§ 47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that

[1] Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the Urim was to Joshua himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch, which oath he and the other rulers never durst break.—W.

God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks, while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he has exercised over you, which has not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but has bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also because he has assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the solicitude I had to better your condition, and has on all occasions showed himself favourable to us; or rather it was he who first managed our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a lieutenant under him, and as a helper in those matters wherein he was willing to do your nation good: on which account I think it proper, now I am departing, to praise the divine power which will take care of you for the time to come, and that to repay the debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a reminder to you of your obligation to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all that he has already bestowed on us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God, which will be the consequence of the neglect of the laws, which he, your Creator, has given you!"

§ 48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would happen to every one of the tribes afterwards, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell to tears, insomuch, that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had because he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, not being able to control their grief, and so showed that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a protector they were losing, and so lamented their future state, but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to

be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may form conjecture of the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was persuaded all his life that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since people die in accordance with the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overcame him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping, but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that followed close to him not to render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, and let him depart according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still among one another. The only persons who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua the general. And as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abarim[1] (which is a very high mountain situate over-against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan) he dismissed the senate. And as he was embracing Eleazar and Joshua, and was still conversing with them, a cloud stood over him on a sudden, and he disappeared in a certain ravine. He wrote that he died in the holy books, fearing that people would venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he was translated to God.

§ 49. Now Moses lived, in all, one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, all but one month, he was the people's leader; and he died in the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians Dystrus, but by us Adar, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever lived in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking and addressing the multitude, and, as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if

[1] The range of *Jebel Neba* (Mount Nebo), at the northern end of the Dead Sea, and east of Jordan.

he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by name, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, so that whatever he uttered you would think you heard the voice of God himself. And the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that regretted him, but those also that perused his laws had a strong regard for him, and by them inferred his extraordinary merit. And this shall suffice for the account of the manner of the death of Moses.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF ELI.

CHAP. I.

How Joshua, the Commander of the Hebrews, made War with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their Land by Lot among the Tribes of Israel.

§ 1.

WHEN Moses was taken away from among men in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho,[1] to discover what forces the enemy had and what were their intentions, and he put his camp in order, intending to cross over the Jordan betimes. And calling

[1] The ancient site of Jericho appears to have been at *'Ain es-Sultân*, near *Erîha*.

to him the chiefs of the tribe of Reuben, and the leaders of the tribe of Gad, and [half the tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have its possession in the country of the Amorites, [which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan], he reminded them what they had promised Moses, and exhorted them, that in gratitude for the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves readily for what they had promised; so with fifty thousand armed men who followed him he marched sixty furlongs from Abila[1] to the Jordan.

§ 2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies returned to him immediately, having got well acquainted with the condition of the Canaanites: for, at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho in security, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak that they might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of their prying, supposing they were only strangers, who are wont to be very curious in observing everything in a city, and did not take them for enemies; and at even they retired to a certain inn that was near the wall, where they went to eat their supper; after which, as they were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some spies come from the Hebrews' camp to view the city, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered. So he sent immediately some officers with orders to arrest them, and bring them to him, that he might put them to the torture and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab heard of their coming, she hid the spies under some stalks of flax which were laid to dry on the top of her house, and said to the officers sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sunset, and were gone away, who might easily be pursued and taken if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the

[1] *Kefrein.*

king. So they being thus deluded by the woman, and suspecting no trick, went their way without so much as searching the inn, and immediately pursued them along those roads which they supposed them most likely to have taken, and particularly those which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them, so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. And when the hue and cry was over, Rahab brought the men down, and besought them, as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes (for if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped the vengeance of the king, but she and all her family with her must have perished miserably), and so bade them go home, after swearing to her to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do, for so much she said she knew from those divine miracles of which she had been informed. And they acknowledged that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and again swore to requite her kindness not only in word but in deed: and gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods and all her family in her inn, and shut them up there, and hang out scarlet threads before her doors, that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do it no harm. "For," said they, "we will inform him of this matter, because of your zeal to preserve us: but if any of your family fall in the battle, do not blame us: and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not to be displeased with us in that case, as though we had broken our oaths." So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and told their own people their adventures in Jericho. Joshua also told Eleazar, the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, and they ratified what had been sworn.

§ 3. Now when Joshua was in fear about their passing over the Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current,

and could not be passed over on bridges, for bridges had never been laid over it hitherto, and they suspected, if they should attempt to make a bridge, that the enemies would not afford them time to complete it, and as for ferry-boats they had none, God promised to make the river fordable by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole host to pass over in the following manner. The priests went first of all bearing the ark, the Levites next, bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire host followed according to their tribes, putting their children and wives in the middle, being afraid for them lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the pebbles appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry them away by its force. So they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be such as God had foretold he would make it, and the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the host had passed over, and got to the shore in safety: and when all were gone over, the priests came out also; and permitted the current to run freely as usual. And the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, swelled again presently, and resumed its normal condition.

§ 4. Then the Hebrews went on fifty furlongs further, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho; and Joshua built an altar of those stones which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophet, had taken out of the bed of the river, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of the river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God, and in that place celebrated the Passover, and had great plenty of all things which they wanted hitherto, for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey, for now their former food, which was manna, of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

§ 5. Now, while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept quiet within their walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them. So on the first day

of the feast the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, Joshua on the seventh day gathered together the armed men and all the people, and told them the good tidings that the city would now be taken, since God would on that day give it them by the falling down of its walls, and that of their own accord and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill everyone they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies either from weariness or pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and so be diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away, but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own private advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first-fruits unto God for this glorious victory, as being got from the city they first took; and to save only Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

§ 6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city; so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests with their trumpets encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, though no engines of war, nor any violence, were applied to it by the Hebrews.

§ 7. So they entered Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, who were dismayed at the unexpected overthrow of their walls, and their courage became useless for defence. So they were slain and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others caught in their houses; nothing begged them off, but they all perished, even women and children; and the city was filled with dead bodies, and nothing escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country round it; only the spies saved alive Rahab and

her family, who had fled for refuge to her inn. And when she was brought before him, Joshua owned to her, that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: so he said he would not show himself behind her in his return. So he gave her certain lands immediately, and held her in great esteem ever afterwards.

§ 8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he rased it to the ground, and denounced a curse against its inhabitants, if anyone should desire to rebuild it, that, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. Nor was this curse pronounced in vain, as I shall show hereafter.

§ 9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold and brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one trangressing the decree, nor purloining for their own advantage, but abstaining from what was devoted to God, for Joshua delivered the spoil to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

§ 10. But there was one Achar, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who, finding a royal cloak woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard case, that what gain he at some hazard had got, he must give away, and offer to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, dug a deep hole in his tent, and buried them there, supposing he should not only be undetected by his fellow-soldiers, but by God also.

§ 11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called Gilgal,[1] which denotes liberty; for since now they had passed over the Jordan, they looked upon themselves as liberated from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and suffered in the wilderness.

§ 12. Now a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai,[2] a city situate above Jericho: but the people of Ai engaging with them, they were driven back, and lost

[1] Now *Jiljûlia*, three miles east of Jericho.
[2] Now *et-Tell*, two miles east of *Beitîn*, Bethel.

thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad and exceedingly dejected, not so much because of the relation the men that were killed bore to them, though those that were killed were all good men and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned. For whereas they believed that they were already in possession of the land, and would bring their army out of battles without loss, as God had promised them, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies elated with success; so they put sackcloth on their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least care for food, and laid what had happened greatly to heart.

§ 13. When Joshua saw the army so dejected, and foreboding evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses your servant, to whom you promised by many signs that you would give us this land for a possession, and that you would make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has attended upon us agreeably to your promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some of our men, we are grieved at it, fearing what you promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our hope about the future troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do you, O Lord (for you are able to find a cure for this), by giving us victory take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our despair as to the future.

§ 14. Joshua put these intercessions up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: and God bade him get up, and purify the host from the pollution which had got into it; for things consecrated to him had been impudently stolen, and that was the reason why this defeat had happened to them, but if they would search out and punish the offender, he would take care they should ever have the victory over their enemies. Joshua told the people this, and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and those in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe, and when the lot

showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he again cast lots for the several families of that tribe, when this wicked action was brought home to the family of Achar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's finding him out so wonderfully, could not deny the fact; but confessed the theft, and produced what he had stolen, and was immediately put to death, and was buried in the night in a dishonourable manner, as was suitable for a condemned malefactor.

§ 15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai, and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; and as they advanced boldly against the Israelites because of their former victory, he made believe to retreat, and so drew them a great way from the city, they supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despising them as though they had already won the battle, when Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and face their foes; he then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so made them get up to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, and some of them wholly occupied in watching what was going on outside the city. So they took the city, and slew all that they met with, and Joshua pressed hard those that came against him to battle, and discomfited them, and made them flee; and when they were driven towards the city, which they thought was safe, as soon as they saw it was taken and burnt with their wives and children, they wandered about the fields in confusion, and were unable to defend themselves because of their isolation. Now when this calamity fell upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children and women and servants captured, and an immense quantity of baggage. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for it was a rich country. And when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all this spoil among the soldiers.

§ 16. But when the Gibeonites, who dwelt very near Jerusalem, saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that

the like sore calamity would come upon themselves, they decided not to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy every nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cepherah[1] and Kirjathjearim,[2] who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid danger, if the Israelites should anticipate them, and attack them; so they combined, and resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. So, on agreeing to what they proposed, they sent as ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship with him, such of the citizens as they judged most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might avoid the danger by saying, that they bore no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them; and they said further, that they took their journey on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they pointed to their dress, for they said their clothes were new when they started, but were worn out by the length of time they had been on their journey, for indeed they took threadbare garments on purpose that they might make him believe them. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon,[3] and the adjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make a league of friendship with them, on such conditions as were customary among their fathers; for as they understood, that, by the favour of God and his gift, they were to have possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak, and, showing them the marks of their long journey, entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. And Joshua believing what they said, that they

[1] Now *Kefîreh*, eight miles north-west of Jerusalem.
[2] Now *Kuriet el-'Enab*, on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa.
[3] Now *el-Jîb*, north of Jerusalem.

were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them, and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, swore to them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would do no injury to them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men, having obtained what they desired by guile, went home; but when Joshua led his army to the foot of the mountains, he learned that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their chiefs, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he convened Eleazar the high priest and the senate, who thought right to make the Gibeonites public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them, and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security against the ruin that was about to overtake them.

§ 17. But the king of Jerusalem was very indignant that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua, so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, who were four besides the king of Jerusalem, come up to attack them, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain, not far from their city, and were getting ready to besiege it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they would be saved by those who came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship ratified between them. And Joshua made haste with his whole army to their relief, and marched day and night, and in the morning fell upon the enemies, who could not bear the brunt of his attack, and routed them, and hotly pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called Beth-horon;[1] and there he saw that God assisted him, manifesting his presence by thunder and thunderbolts,

[1] Upper and Lower Beth-horon are now *Beit 'Ur el-Foka* and *Beit 'Ur el-Tahta*, on the old Roman road from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened, that the night might not come on too soon, and hinder the vigour of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, so that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah,[1] and put them all to death. Now, that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is declared in the books laid up in the temple.

§ 18. Those kings who made war upon the Gibeonites being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous part of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and taken much prey, he returned to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number had been destroyed were in great consternation; so the kings that lived about Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plains, with auxiliaries of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth,[2] a city in Upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh,[3] which is also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed foot, and ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites: and they, instead of being full of hope of good success, were over cautious from the great terror with which they were stricken. And God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them, Whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them? and promised them, that they should overcome their enemies; and charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. And Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and marched out against the enemies, and came up with them on the fifth day, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also pursued them a very great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when the supply

[1] Now *el-Mûghâr*. [2] Site not identified.
[3] Now *Kades*, in the hill country west of the Lake *el-Hûleh*.

of men to be killed failed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle, taking their cities by siege, and killing all that he found.

§ 19. Five years had now elapsed, and there was not one of the Canaanites remaining any longer, except some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp from Gilgal to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city Shiloh,[1] for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until circumstances would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had before directed; and divided the host, placing half of them on Mount Gerizim, and the other half on Mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed and pronounced the [blessings and the] curses, and left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

§ 20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easy to take, not only because they were situated in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, by which they added to the natural advantages of the ground on which the cities stood, and expected their enemies would despair of taking them by siege, for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together in assembly at Shiloh; and when they with great zeal hasted thither, he observed to them, what prosperous success they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do them, and worthy of the excellence of those laws which they followed. He said also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and that every army, however great it were, that confided in its own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed, so that not so much as

[1] Now *Seilûn*, about mid-way between Bethel and Shechem.

any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in process of time by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the consequent confidence the inhabitants had in them, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that had come along with them from beyond the Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, with thanks for the aid they had given. He also thought it well to select one man out of every tribe, held in repute for eminent virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any deceit or fraud should inform them of its real size.

§ 21. Now when he had thus spoken, Joshua found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure the country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily miss the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them orders to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which, if compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful, yet if compared with the land about Jericho and Jerusalem, would appear to be of no account at all. And although it so fell out, that there was very little of this sort of land, and that in the main mountainous also, yet did it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding fertility and beauty: for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by its quality rather than its quantity, it often happening that one acre of some land was equivalent to a thousand acres of other. Now the men that were sent, who were in number ten, travelled all about, and made a valuation of the land, and in the seventh month returned to Joshua to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

§ 22. Then Joshua, in conjunction with Eleazar, and the senate, and the heads of the tribes, distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to half the tribe of Manasseh, appointing their portion to be according to the size of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned to him by lot

the upper part of Judæa, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and in breadth extending to the lake of Sodom.[1] In the lot of this tribe were the cities of Ascalon[2] and Gaza.[3] The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumæa[4] which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that in length it reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel;[5] and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gadara,[6] but in breadth as far as from Bethel till it ended at the great plain. Half the tribe of Manasseh had the land from the Jordan to the city Dora,[7] and in breadth to Bethshan,[8] which is now called Scythopolis. And after these was Issachar, which had as its limits in length Mount Carmel and the river, and its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the lake of Gennesareth, contiguous to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Asher had that part from Mount Carmel which was called The Valley,[9] and such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce[10] belonged to its share, which is also called Ecdipus. The tribe of Naphtali received the eastern parts as far as the city of Damascus and Upper Galilee, and Mount Libanus, and the source of the Jordan which rises in that mountain, extending to the northern boundaries of the neighbouring city Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley[11] which faces the setting sun, and was bounded by Azotus[12] and Dora; they

[1] The Dead Sea. [2] Now *'Askalân*, on the sea coast.
[3] Now *Ghuzzeh*.
[4] The Negeb or south country to the west of *Wâdy 'Arabah*.
[5] *Beitîn*. [6] Now *Umm Keis*.
[7] Now *Tantûra*, on the sea coast south of Mount Carmel.
[8] Now *Beisân*.
[9] The coast plain at the mouth of the Kishon, between Carmel and Acre.
[10] The Achzib of Josh. xix. 29, now *ez-Zîb*, eight and a half miles north of Acre.
[11] The plain between the mountains and the sea.
[12] The ancient Ashdod, now *Esdûd*, in the plain of Philistia.

also had all Jamnia[1] and Gath,[2] from Ekron[3] to the mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

§ 23. Thus did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the names of the sons of Canaan, and their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had anticipated him by having already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was also called from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as I have already stated. And the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arucæi and the Amathæi, and the Aridei, were not yet regularly disposed of.

§ 24. And now Joshua was hindered by old age from executing what he intended to do (and those that succeeded him in the government took little care of what was for the advantage of the public), but he charged every tribe to leave none of the race of the Canaanites in the land divided to them by lot; as Moses had assured them before, that they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their security, and the observation of their laws, depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites, and three of these he appointed as cities of refuge, for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, in the tribe of Judah, Hebron;[4] and in that of Ephraim, Shechem;[5] and in Naphthali, Kadesh,[6] which is a place in Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, so that they had an abundance of wealth both in general and in particular, and gold and raiment, and other spoil, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

§ 25. After this was over, he gathered the host together in assembly, and spoke as follows to those tribes who had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond the Jordan,

[1] The Jabneel of Josh. xv. 11, now *Yebnah*, in the plain of Philistia.

[2] Now *Tell es-Sáfi*, five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, *Beit Jibrin*, on the road to Lydda, *Ludd*.

[3] Now *'Akir*, in the plain of Philistia, six miles west of Gezer, *Tell Jezar*.

[4] *el-Khulil*. [5] *Nâblus*. [6] *Kades*.

for fifty thousand of them had gone armed to the war along with them: "Since God, who is the father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you offered yourselves with alacrity to assist us when we needed your aid on all occasions according to his command, it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer, that so, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not weary you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks for the dangers you have shared with us, and we do so not now only, but we shall be always thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to keep in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyment of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured with us for what we have now by the favour of God obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, got great quantity of riches, and will carry home with you much booty and gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good-will towards you, and a willingness to repay your kindness to us in whatever case you shall desire it, for you have not omitted anything which Moses before ordered you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from men, so that there is nothing to diminish the gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your inheritance, and entreat you to think that there is no limit to our kinsmanship, and not to imagine, because this river is interposed between us, that we are a different race from you and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that dwell here, and you that dwell there, and it is one God that brought our and your forefathers into the world, whose worship and polity, which he ordained by Moses, you are to attend to, and most carefully to observe; because while you continue in it God will also ever show himself favourable and helpful to you; but if you imitate other nations, and forsake him,

he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, the chiefs one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people escorted those tribes on their way, and that not without tears, and indeed they hardly knew how to part from one another.

§ 26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the bank of the Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relationship to those that should dwell on the other side: but when those on the other side heard that those who had been sent home had built an altar, but did not know with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it, but thinking the calumny that it was built for divine worship was credible, they took up arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar, and were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their violation of the laws of their country, for they did not think it right to regard their kindred, or the worth of those that had given the offence, so much as the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped. So these men put themselves in array for war: but Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to test their intention by a colloquy, and if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly they sent as envoys to them Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and ten others held in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was their meaning in building, upon passing over the river, an altar upon its bank. And as soon as these envoys had passed over, and were come to them, and a meeting was assembled, Phinehas stood up and said, that the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or censured in regard to the future; yet they did not look at the heinousness of their transgression so as to have recourse to arms for their immediate punishment, but on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending

envoys to them, "that when we have learned the motive by which you have been induced to build this altar, we may not seem to have been too rash in pursuing you with arms, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, but may justly punish you if the accusation prove true. For we can hardly suppose that you who have been acquainted with the will of God, and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us and gone to your own inheritance, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark, and that altar, which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime, if you repent now, and proceed no further in your madness, but pay a due reverence and regard to the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over the Jordan and defend them and God also, and will esteem you as men no way differing from the Canaanites, but will destroy you just as we destroyed them. For do not imagine, because you are got over the river, that you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are everywhere in his reach, and it is impossible to escape his power and vengeance. And if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your religious feelings, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this land as a sheep-walk; but you will do well to return to your sense of religion, and to leave off these novelties; and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Deliberate therefore in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war."

§ 27. When Phinehas had discoursed thus, the chief men in the assembly and the whole multitude began to make an apology for themselves as to what they were accused of, and said, "That neither would they depart from the relation they bore to them, nor had they built

the altar by way of innovation: but they recognized one and the same God as all the Hebrews, and the brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices. And as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and memorial for ever of our relation to you, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect. And let God be our sufficient witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar. So we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of utter destruction, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

§ 28. When they had made this answer, and Phinehas had commended them for it, he returned to Joshua, and reported to the people what answer he had received: and Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in battle array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same. And after that Joshua dismissed the people to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. And in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest position in the several cities, for those in authority, and the senate, and convened as many of the common people as could be present: and when they were come, he reminded them of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since they were advanced from a low estate to so great a degree of glory and plenty, and exhorted them to regard the will of God, which had been so gracious towards them, for the Deity would continue their friend only if they honoured him and practised piety; and he said that it was proper for him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such advice to them, and he desired they would keep in memory his exhortation to them.

§ 29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which

he lived with Moses, in order to learn his duties. He was also commander, after his death, for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but was very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity in action and in dangers; and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great merit in emergencies. He was buried in the city of Timnath,[1] belonging to the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time Eleazar the high priest died, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phinehas. His sepulchre and monument are in the city of Gabatha.[2]

CHAP. II.

How, after the Death of Joshua their Commander, the Israelites transgressed the Laws of their Country, and experienced great afflictions; and how, when there was a Sedition, all the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, except six hundred men.

§ 1.

NOW after the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phinehas prophesied that it was God's will that they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites, for the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, on condition that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the same for those in the inheritance of Simeon.

§ 2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they waited for the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek,[3] having put the command into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes

[1] See Judges ii. 9; Josh. xix. 50, xxiv. 30; now *Kefr 'Hâris*, nine miles south of *Nâblus*.

[2] The Gibeah of Phinehas, Josh. xxiv. 33; the tomb of Phinehas is now shown at *Awertah*, south of *Nâblus*.

[3] Site not identified, but possibly *Bezkah*, six miles south-east of Lydda, *Ludd*.

the lord of Bezek, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue means lord. Now they hoped to have been victorious over the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: but when the Israelites joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes just mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and in the pursuit captured Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "I was not then always to escape from God, as I find by what I now endure, for I was not ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings." And they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem, and when he was dead they buried him in the ground, and went on still taking the Canaanitish cities: and when they had taken most of them, they besieged Jerusalem. And when they had taken the lower city, which was not for a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, from the strength of its walls and the nature of the place.

§ 3. So they removed their camp to Hebron, and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were still left some of the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and so entirely different an appearance from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike any credible relations of other men. Now they gave Hebron to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with its suburbs of two thousand cubits; but the land belonging thereto they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses: this Caleb was one of the spies whom Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro the Midianite, who was the father-in-law of Moses, for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

§ 4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Ascalon[1] and Ashdod[2] of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza[3] and Ekron[4] escaped them, for their inhabitants living in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots,

[1] *'Askalân.* [2] *Esdûd.* [3] *Ghuzzeh.* [4] *'Akir.*

sorely galled those that attacked them; so these tribes having grown very rich by the war, retired to their own cities, and laid down their arms.

§ 5. But the Benjamites, to whom Jerusalem belonged, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute: so they all left off, the former to kill, and the latter to expose themselves to danger, and had leisure to till the ground; the rest of the tribes imitated the Benjamites, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tribute that was paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

§ 6. But the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel,[1] made no adequate progress, considering the time they spent and the pains they took about the siege, yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though it gave them great trouble. At last they caught one of the citizens that came to bring necessaries: and they promised him that if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; and he swore, upon these terms, that he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the city was preserved with his family, and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city.

§ 7. After this, the Israelites grew lax about fighting any more against their enemies, and applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, and as it produced them great plenty and riches, they neglected order, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasure, nor were they any longer careful to hearken to the laws of their polity. So God was provoked to anger, and first reminded them how, contrary to his will, they had spared the Canaanites, and after that told them that these Canaanites, as opportunity occurred, would use them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at this admonition from God, were still very unwilling to go to war, since they got large tribute from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for exertion by their luxury. They suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not appoint a senate, or any other magistrates such as their laws had formerly required, but were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth. And this great security

[1] *Beitin.*

of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight against one another for the following reason.

§ 8. There was a Levite of no great extraction, who belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; he had married a wife from Bethlehem, a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and greatly smitten with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which the more inflamed his passion for her, so that they quarrelled with one another perpetually; and at last, the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and returned to her parents in the fourth month. The husband, being very uneasy at her departure owing to his fondness for her, went to her parents, and got reconciled to her, and lived there four days, being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and started in the evening; for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed her till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to put up somewhere lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far from enemies, night-time often giving reason for suspicion of danger from even friends. But the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to lodge among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs further, and so lodge in some Israelitish city. And he got his way, and reached Gibeah,[1] a city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and as no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came up out of his field an old man who belonged to the tribe of Ephraim but resided in Gibeah, who met him, and asked him who he was? and for what reason he came there so late? and why he was trying to get supper when it was dark? To which he replied that he was a

[1] Site not identified; possibly *Tell el-Fûl*, two and a half miles north of Jerusalem.

Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, and he also told him he dwelt in the tribe of Ephraim. So the old man, because of their kindred, and because they belonged to the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met one another, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admired her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, despising the weakness and fewness of the old man's family. And when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or outrage there, they desired him to yield up to them the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him; and when the old man answered, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of dreadful wickedness, if they suffered themselves to be overcome by pleasure, and offended against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn, and threatened to kill him if he thwarted their desires. Thereupon, being in great distress, and yet not willing to see his guests abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her than to abuse his guests; supposing that by this means he would prevent any injury being done to those guests. But as they no way abated of their lust for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on having her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such lawless act, but they proceeded to force, and indulging still more the violence of their desires, they took the woman away to their own house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, in great affliction at what had happened, and very sorrowful at what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forget what had happened, so she fell down and gave up the ghost; but her husband, supposing that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had occurred, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to console her, since she had not voluntarily

submitted to those men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the ass, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve parts, he sent one to every tribe, and charged those that carried them to inform the tribes who were the causes of his wife's death, and of their outrageous conduct to her.

§ 9. Upon this, the people were greatly exasperated at what they saw, and at the atrocity of what they heard, as never having experienced such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, in an uncontrollable and righteous rage, and assembled in crowds before the tabernacle, and immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies. But the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them that they ought not so hastily to make war upon men of the same nation as themselves, before they spoke to them about the accusation laid against them, it being part of their law that they should not bring an army against even foreigners, who appeared to have done them wrong, without sending an embassage first, and trying thereby whether they would repent or not. Accordingly, they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to see whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they delivered them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders; but if they despised the message that was sent them, to retaliate by taking up arms against them. Accordingly, they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crime committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and demanded of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, having justly deserved to die for what they had done. But the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it monstrous from fear of war to submit to other men's demands upon them, vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in arms, either in their numbers or in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great

preparations for war, for they were so mad as to resolve to repel force by force.

§ 10. When what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon was reported to the Israelites, they took oaths that none of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but would make war with greater fury against them than we have heard our forefathers made war against the Canaanites. And forthwith they despatched an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was only twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hand, insomuch that when a battle took place at Gibeah, the Benjamites routed the Israelites, and there fell of them twenty-two thousand men; and probably more would have been killed, had not night come on, and prevented this, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to Gibeah with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in great dismay at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites again beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain; and they left their camp from fear of being slaughtered. So they went to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted the next day, and besought God by Phinehas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and superiority over their enemies. And God promised them so to do by the prophesying of Phinehas.

§ 11. When they had therefore divided the army into two parts, they laid half in ambush near the city of Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, and retiring as they pressed hard upon them, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, wishing to draw them entirely from the city, and the others followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, wishing to subdue their enemies. However, when they were a great way from the city, the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and made the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up,

and fell upon the enemy with a great shout. Now, as soon as they perceived themselves to be outwitted, they knew not what to do, and being driven into a certain hollow place which was a ravine, they were shot at by those that surrounded them, till they were all killed, except six hundred who formed themselves into a compact body, and cut their way through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and occupied them, and remained there; but the rest of them, amounting to about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were not in their prime, and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree, that they despatched twelve thousand men from the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh[1] in Gilead, because it had not joined them in fighting against the Benjamites. And those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, sparing only four hundred virgins. To such a degree did they proceed in their anger, because they had not only the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but also the slaughter of their own soldiers.

§ 12. However, they were afterwards sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they thought those men had suffered justly for their sin against the laws: so they recalled by envoys those six hundred who had escaped, and taken up their position on a certain rock called Rhoa,[2] which was in the wilderness. And the envoys lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their vote for the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." Then

[1] The name survives in *Wâdy el-Yâbis*, east of Jordan; the site is perhaps marked by the ruin *ed-Deir*.

[2] The rock Rimmon of Judges xx. 45, 47, xxi. 13; now the rock and village *Rummôn*, east of Bethel, *Beitîn*.

they gave way, and confessed that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened in consequence of their own wickedness, and listened to their invitation, and went down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh in Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated as to how they might get wives by whom they might have children: and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they would not offend God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was not dreadful and injurious when it was done out of necessity, but only when it was done with a wicked intention. But when the senate cried out at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his plan was? "Three times a year," he said, "when we meet in Shiloh at festival time, our wives and daughters accompany us; let the Benjamites then be allowed to steal away and marry such maidens as they can catch, while we neither incite them nor forbid them: and if their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them. we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over-angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high before." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow his advice, and decreed that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival came on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, in groups of two and three, and waited for the coming of the virgins in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. And the virgins came along playing, and suspecting nothing of what was going to happen to them, and walked in an unguarded manner, so the men rose up and caught hold of them as they ran away. And so

these Benjamites got them wives, and applied themselves to agriculture, and took pains to recover their former prosperity. And thus was the tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the fore-mentioned manner, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and soon flourished again, and increased in population, and came to enjoy all other advantages. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAP. III.

How the Israelites after this Misfortune grew wicked, and served the Assyrians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them forty Years.

§ 1.

NOW it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered as much as the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so for the following reason. As the Israelites had already left off the practice of war, and were intent upon husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer any harm from them, but because they hoped to be able to treat the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and dwell for the time to come in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and concentrated their infantry, their cities also combined together, and won over to themselves Ascalon and Ekron, which were in the lot of the tribe of Judah, and several cities that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to flee into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain to set their foot on. As then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the interior of the country, to look out for a land to which they might remove their habitation: and they went not far from the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, and the source of the lesser Jordan, to the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from that city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and

found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they set out with their army, and built there the city of Dan, which they so called from the son of Jacob, and their own tribe.

§ 2. The Israelites fell into heavier misfortune from their want of energy and neglect of religion. For when they had once fallen off from the order of their polity, they indulged themselves further in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were defiled by the vices that were common among the Canaanites. God was therefore angry with them, and they lost by their luxury that prosperity which they had obtained by innumerable efforts. For when Chusarth, king of the Assyrians, made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when their cities were besieged, they were taken by storm. Nay there were some which, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from their troubles in the following manner.

§ 3. There was a man whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenez, of the tribe of Judah, of great courage and energy. He was warned by God not to neglect the Israelites in such distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in his dangerous undertaking (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him), he first of all destroyed the garrison which Chusarth had set over them, and when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more people came to his assistance: and they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to cross over the Euphrates. Then Othniel, who had given such proof of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAP. IV.

How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Ehud, who ruled over the People eighty Years.

§ 1.

WHEN Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder, and as they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them, on account of the disorders in their body politic, that he made war upon them and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted nothing by which he might distress the people, and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But God took pity on the Israelites on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications, and freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

§ 2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, and best skilled in using his left hand, in which lay his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and by means of presents obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, and was therefore also acceptable to those who were about the king. Now, on one occasion when he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he girt a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him; it was then summer-time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man,

when he had offered his presents to Eglon, who was then in a small parlour situated so as to avoid the heat, fell into conversation with him, for they were now alone, the king having ordered his servants that attended him to go their way, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was sitting on his throne, and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke and not give him a deadly wound, so he got him to rise by telling him he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped off his throne for joy of the dream. Then Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. And the king's servants were very still, supposing that he had gone to sleep.

§ 3. Then Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; and they heard him gladly, and took up arms, and sent messengers all over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. And the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of the misfortune which had befallen him for a great while; but towards evening, fearing something had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead, they were in a great state, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the Israelites were upon them *en masse*, so that some of them were slain on the spot, and some were put to flight, and ran away towards the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the fords of the Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and killed many of them at the fords, nor did one of them escape out of their hands. Thus it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. And Ehud was for this deed honoured with the rule over all the multitude, and died after he had held it eighty years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides this exploit of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected ruler, but died in the first year of his rule.

CHAP. V.

How the Canaanites brought the Israelites into Servitude for Twenty Years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty Years.

§ 1.

AND now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their ways, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought into servitude by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing-time after the slavery under the Moabites. This Jabin came out of Hazor,[1] a city situate over the lake Semechonitis,[2] and maintained three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and kept three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all this force, and was the principal person in the king's favour, and so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

§ 2. So they continued to undergo that oppression twenty years, not being good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes, and God wishing also thereby the more to subdue their impiety and ingratitude towards himself, that they might at length become penitent, and be so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws. At last they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them (her name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee), to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to allow their being ruined by the Canaanites. And God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, of the tribe of Napthali. Now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies lightning.

§ 3. And Deborah sent for Barak, and bade him pick out ten thousand young men to go against the enemy, because God had said that that number was sufficient, and had promised them victory. But when Barak said that he

[1] Possibly *Tell Hâra*, over the lake *el-Hûleh*.

[2] The 'waters of Merom' of Josh. xi. 57; now the *Baheiret el-Hûleh*.

would not be general unless she would also go as general with him, she was indignant at what he said, and replied, "You, O Barak, meanly deliver up the authority which God has given you into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites and Barak himself were so dismayed at the multitude of the enemies, that they resolved to decamp, but Deborah restrained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for they should conquer them, and God would assist them.

§ 4. So the battle began, and when they engaged, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the faces of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit their soldiers to use their swords, while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came on their backs. They also took such courage from the idea that God was assisting them, that they rushed into the midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them. And some of them fell by the hand of the Israelites, some were trodden to death by their own horses, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. And Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, leapt off his chariot and fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he asked to be concealed; and as he asked for something to drink, she gave him some sour milk, of which he drank a huge draught and fell asleep, and when he was asleep Jael took an iron nail, and drove it through his mouth under the lip with a hammer into the floor: and when Barak came a little afterwards, she showed him Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak razed the city to the ground, and ruled over the Israelites for forty years.

CHAP. VI.

How the Midianites and other Nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and afflicted their Country for seven Years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the People.

§ 1.

NOW after Barak and Deborah died about the same time, the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and defeated those that resisted them, and carried off their fruits and cattle. Now when they had done this for seven years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plains. They also made for themselves vaults under ground and caverns, and preserved therein whatever escaped the enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to till the land in winter, that so when the others had undergone the labour, they might have fruits to carry away. So a famine ensued and scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to supplication to God, and besought him to save them.

§ 2. And Gideon, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn and privately threshed them at the wine-press, for he was too afraid of the enemies to thresh them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time an angel appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was a happy man and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the angel exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of the national liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous, and he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions. But God himself promised to supply what

he was defective in, and to give the Israelites victory under his command.

§ 3. When Gideon related this to some of the young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were hostile to such as excelled in virtue: now, that they might not pass God over, and ascribe the victory to themselves, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he instructed him to bring his army about noon, when the heat was most scorching, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank hurriedly and noisily, to think they did so from fear of the enemies. And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were three hundred men found that took water with their hands hurriedly, then God bade him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly, they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, intending the next day to pass over it.

§ 4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him before to set upon his enemies in the night, and God wishing to free him from his fear, bade him take one of his soldiers, and go near the Midianites' tents, for he should in that very place have his courage raised, and grow bolder. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so that Gideon could overhear him. The dream was this: he thought he saw such a barley cake as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so bad, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. And the other soldier explained this dream to mean the destruction of their army, and told him what the reason was which made him so conjecture, viz. that the seed called barley was allowed to be the vilest sort of seed, and that the

Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, like the seed of barley; and those that now had courage among the Israelites were Gideon and the army that was with him: "and since you say you saw the cake overturning our tents, I fear that God has granted the victory over us to Gideon."

§ 5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this dream of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them: so Gideon divided his army into three parts, each part containing a hundred men, and led them out about the fourth watch of the night. They all carried empty pitchers and lighted lamps in them, that their advance might not be discovered by their enemies. Each of them had also a ram's horn in his right hand, which they used instead of a trumpet. Now the enemies' camp took up a large space of ground, for it so happened that they had a great many camels, and they were distributed according to their different nations, so as to form one large circle. Now when the Hebrews, as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approaching their enemies, on a given signal, sounded with their rams' horns, and broke their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and shouted and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," disorder and panic seized the Midianites who were fast asleep; for it was night-time, and God would have it so. And a few of them were slain by their enemies, but most by their allies, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once thrown into disorder, they killed all they met, thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And when the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, surrounded by ravines, where they could not get away, and they cut them off, and slew them all, with two of their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. And the remaining captains led off those soldiers that were left, who were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not slack his

energy, but pursued them with all his force, and joined battle with them, and cut off the whole enemies' army, and took captive the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmunna. Now there was slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took much spoil, gold and silver, and rich stuffs, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was returned to his own country Ophrah,[1] he slew Zebah and Zalmunna.

§ 6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he had not announced to them his intended expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, a man of modesty, and one that excelled in every virtue, pleaded that it was not of his own accord or will that he attacked the enemy without them, but that it was at the command of God, and that the victory belonged to them as well as to those in the army. And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against their enemies, for he delivered them from civil war, which seemed likely to break out among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer punishment for this injurious treatment of Gideon, of which I shall give an account in due time.

§ 7. Then Gideon would have laid down his command, but was obliged to keep it, and for forty years he dispensed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences, and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died at an advanced age, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

[1] Now *Fer'ata*, six miles west of *Nâblus*.

CHAP. VII.

How the Judges who succeeded Gideon, warred with the adjoining Nations for a long Time.

§ 1.

NOW Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, and he had also by his concubine Drumah one that was illegitimate, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem, to his mother's relations, for they were of that place; and when he had got money from them, who were remarkable for their irregular lives, he returned with them to his father's house, and slew all his brothers, except Jotham; for he had the good fortune to escape and save his life. And Abimelech changed the government into a tyranny, and made himself an autocrat, to do what he pleased instead of obeying the laws, and acted most severely to those that stood up for justice.

§ 2. Now, on a certain occasion when there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was gathered together there, Jotham his brother, whose escape I before related, went up to Mount Gerizim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who listened to him. He desired they would attend to what he was going to say to them: and when silence was made, he said that when the trees could speak, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they asked the fig-tree to rule over them: and when that tree refused to do so, because it was contented to enjoy the honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bore, and not that which would accrue to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intention to have a ruler, so they thought good to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words as the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the sovereignty: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the bramble, whom the trees had asked to take the

kingdom (a sort of wood good only for kindling fires), promised to take office, and to be zealous in the exercise of it, but they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it would destroy them. He told them, that what he said was not said to excite a laugh, but because, though they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they allowed Abimelech to lord it over them all, and had joined with him in slaying his brothers, though he would prove no better than a fire himself. And when he had said this, he went away, and lived hid among the mountains for three years from fear of Abimelech.

§ 3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who now repented of having slain the sons of Gideon, expelled Abimelech both from their city and tribe. So he and his party sought how to injure their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather the grapes, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it so happened that there lived among them then a man of authority, one Gaal, who had armed men and some kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage. And he complied with their desire, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiers, and they gathered their grapes in safety; and when they were at supper in groups, they even ventured to rail at Abimelech openly, and their leading men laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and put them to death.

§ 4. Now there was one Zebul, a leading man among the Shechemites, and a friend of Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and advised him to lay ambushes before the city, for he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would put it in his power to be revenged on him once for all, and when that was once done he would get Abimelech reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. And Gaal abode in the suburbs, consulting too little for his safety, and Zebul was with him. Now Gaal saw some armed men coming up, and told Zebul, that some armed men were approaching, but he

replied that they were only shadows from the rocks, but when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived the truth. and said, they were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, "Did you not accuse Abimelech of cowardice? Why then do you not show how very courageous you are yourself, and go and fight him?" So Gaal in excitement joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took the rest of them with him. But Zebul contrived the expulsion of Gaal out of the city, by accusing him of cowardice in the action with the soldiers of Abimelech. And now Abimelech, learning that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they had come out, the third part of his army occupied the gates, to hinder the citizens from entering in again, while the rest pursued those that were dispersed about, and so there was slaughter everywhere; and when he had razed the city to the ground, for it was not able to stand a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he pushed on with his army, till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they gathered themselves together on a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and intended to build a wall round it; but when Abimelech knew their intention, he anticipated them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid fagots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and ordering his soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was soon surrounded with these fagots, they set them on fire, and threw on whatever was by nature most inflammable; so a mighty fire was kindled, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every one perished, about fifteen hundred men, and a great number of women and children also. Such was the calamity which befell the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account would have been greater than it was, had they not seemed to be justly punished for their ingratitude to Gideon.

§ 5. Now Abimelech, when he had terrified the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to aim at still greater power than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, till

everybody was killed. Accordingly, he marched to Thebez,[1] and took that city by sudden assault, and as there was a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparations to besiege it. Now, as he was hurrying near the gates, a woman threw a piece of mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell, and asked his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman. And he did what he was told to do. Such was his punishment for his cruelty to his brothers, and his barbarity to the Shechemites. And the calamity that happened to the Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham. And the army of Abimelech dispersed upon his fall, and went to their own homes.

§ 6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the rule. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his thirty sons, who were good young men, and very skilful in riding, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He ruled twenty-two years, and died an old man, and was buried at Camon,[2] a city of Gilead.

§ 7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were in disorder, and tended to the contempt of God and the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines despised them, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had occupied all Peræa,[3] they were so bold as to cross over the Jordan to gain the possession of all the rest. But the Hebrews being now sobered by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God, and offered sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe against them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

§ 8. When the Ammonites marched into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was a certain person whose name was Jephthah, who, both on

[1] Now *Túbás*, north-east of *Náblus*.

[2] Site not identified.

[3] Peræa, a part of the Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, extended, according to Josephus, Jewish War, iii. 3, § 3, from Machærus on the south to Pella on the north, and from the Jordan on the west to Philadelphia, or Rabbath Ammon, on the east.

account of his father's virtue, and on account of an army which he maintained at his own expense, was an influential man. The Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him rule over them all his lifetime. But he would not hearken to their entreaty, and accused them of not coming to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and that openly by his brothers. For they had cast him out, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced into the house by his father's fondness, and they had done this out of contempt at his weakness. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, and received all that came to him, from all parts, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the rule, and swore that they would grant it him for life, he took the command.

§ 9. And when Jephthah took the control of affairs, he soon marched his army to the city of Mizpah,[1] and sent a message to the Ammonite [king], complaining of his unjust occupation of their land. But that king sent a countercharge, and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired them to quit the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as his original paternal inheritance. But Jephthah returned answer that he did not justly complain of the forefathers of the Israelites as to the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that they would not recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now had more than three hundred years, but would fight with them for it.

§ 10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the envoys away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed, if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice whatever living creature should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies as far as the city of Minnith.[2] He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took much

[1] Now probably *Sûf*, north of the Jabbok, and near Gerasa, *Jerash*.

[2] Site not identified; according to Eusebius and Jerome it was four Roman miles from Heshbon, on the road to Philadelphia.

spoil, and freed his own people from the slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But on his return he fell into a calamity very unlike his previous good fortune. For his daughter came out to meet him, who was also his only child, and a virgin; and Jephthah heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward to meet him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, what was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she would die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow-citizens; she only desired her father to give her leave for two months to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens, and after that he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time had elapsed, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor did he consider what opinion those that heard of it would have of such a deed.

§ 11. Now the tribe of Ephraim marched against him, because he had not taken them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, and because he alone had the spoil, and fame for what had been done. To whom he said, first, that they were not ignorant how their kinsmen were hard pressed, yet though they were invited, they had not come to their assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even without being invited. And in the next place, he said they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they marched promptly against their own kindred; and he threatened them, that with God's assistance, he would inflict punishment upon them, if they did not grow wiser. But as he could not persuade them, he fought them with a force which he sent for out of Gilead, and made a great slaughter of them; and when they were routed, he pursued them, and having occupied the fords of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent on before, he slew about forty-two thousand of them.

§ 12. And when Jephthah had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country Sebee,[1] which is in the land of Gilead.

[1] Site not identified; the name of Jephthah's burial-place is not given in Judges xii. 7.

§ 13. Now, when Jephthah was dead, Ibzan succeeded him, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters husbands, and the sons wives. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording. He died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

§ 14. When Ibzan was dead, neither did Elon, who succeeded him, and ruled ten years, do anything remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

§ 15. Abdon, the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, who was born at the city of Pharathon,[1] was appointed the supreme governor after Elon. He can only be recorded as having been happy in his children; for public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that he performed no glorious action. He had forty sons, and thirty grandsons, and used to ride in state with the seventy, who were all very skilful in riding, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man; and had a magnificent tomb at Pharathon.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Bravery of Samson, and what Mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines.

§ 1.

AFTER Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years. They were delivered from this hardship in the following manner.

§ 2. There was one Manoah of the tribe of Dan, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and was without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and outshining her contemporaries. He had no children, and being uneasy at this want of posterity, he entreated God to give him

[1] Probably *Fer'on*, about fourteen miles west of Nâblus.

legitimate offspring, going frequently to the suburbs [1] with his wife. He was fond of his wife to the degree of madness, and so was violently jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her, it was an angel of God, and resembled a beautiful and tall young man, who brought her the good news, that she should have by God's providence a goodly son of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He told her also not to cut his hair, and that he was to avoid all other kinds of drink (for so had God commanded), and restrict himself to water. And the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

§ 3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home of what the angel had said, and showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was beside himself with jealousy, and with such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable distress taken away, so she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favour of God, when they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay till she could bring her husband, and that request being granted, she went to fetch Manoah. When he saw the angel, he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when the angel said, it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he bade him tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, for he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son from want of anything. And when Manoah entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay till he brought him one mark of his hospitality, so he slew a kid of

[1] I can discover no reason why Manoah and his wife went so constantly into these suburbs to pray for children, but because there was a synagogue or place of devotion in those suburbs.—W.

the goats, and bade his wife cook it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh without the vessels upon the rock. And, when they had done so, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, and a flame broke out and consumed both flesh and loaves. And the angel ascended, openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bade him be of good courage, for God appeared to them for their benefit.

§ 4. And the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions given her, and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies strong. And the child grew apace, and it appeared evident that he would be a prophet, both from the strictness of his diet, and the letting his hair grow.

§ 5. Now when he went with his parents to Timnath,[1] a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and begged his parents to procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused to do so, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he succeeded in persuading them to procure her espousal to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was unarmed he received its attack, and strangled it with his hands, and cast the beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

§ 6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees hived in the carcase of that lion, and taking three honeycombs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, in dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding feast (for he then feasted them all), thirty of the most stout of their youth, under pretext of being his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. And as they were drinking merrily and playing, as was usual at such times, Samson

[1] Now *Tibnah*, on the south side of the 'Valley of Sorek,' *Wâdy Surâr*, and west of Beth Shemesh, *'Ain Shems*.

said, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in seven days' time, I will give every one of you linen shirts and garments as a reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the reputation of wisdom, together with the gain, desired him to propose his riddle, when he said, "That a great devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though it was itself very disagreeable." And when they were not able in three days' time to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by means of her husband, and tell it them, and threatened to burn her if she did not do so. And when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do so, but when she pressed him hard and fell into tears, and treated his refusal to tell her as a sign of unkindness to her, he informed her of his killing the lion, and how he found bees in its carcase, and carried away three honeycombs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting no deceit, informed her of everything, and she revealed it to those who desired to know it, So on the seventh day, on which they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sunset, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those who find it." To which Samson made this rejoinder, "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for it was a woman who discovered my interpretation to you." And he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Ascalonites as he met upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and married his companion, who had made the match between them.

§ 7. At this outrage Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines as well as her: accordingly, as it was then summer-time, and the fruits of the land were almost ripe for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the crops were destroyed. And when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also why he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his wife, and her relations, as the causes of their loss.

§ 8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam,[1] which is a strong rock belonging to the tribe of Judah, for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe. But the people of Judah said that they did not act justly in inflicting punishment upon them, as they paid their tribute, merely on account of Samson's offences. They answered, that if they would not be blamed, they must deliver up Samson to them. And they, being desirous not to be blamed, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold attacks he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews, and told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to the Philistines, and asked him to bear this willingly. And when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen, and they bound him with two cords, and led him on, to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called Jaw-bone,[2] on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with this jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to headlong flight.

§ 9. Upon this Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that it had not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage, boasting that some of his enemies fell upon his own use of the jaw-bone, and the rest ran away out of dread of him. But when a great thirst came upon

[1] The rock Etam is variously identified with the rock above *'Ain 'Atân*, near 'Solomon's Pools,' and *Beit 'Atâb*, west of Bethlehem.

[2] Lehi, or Ramath Lehi, the scene of Samson's exploit, was believed, in the sixth century, to be near Eleutheropolis, *Beit Jibrîn;* and the tradition still attaches to the spring *'Ain Umm Judeïa.*

him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bore testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at anything he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from his present distress. Accordingly, God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Samson called the place Jaw-bone,[1] and so it is called to this day.

§ 10. After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza,[2] and lodged at a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they occupied the gates, and placed men in ambush near them, that he might not escape without being perceived. But Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and dashed against the gates, and carried them away on his shoulders, with their posts and bolts, and the rest of their woodwork, and bore them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

§ 11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines, whose name was Delilah, and he lived with her. And the rulers of the Philistines came to her, and induced her by promises to get out of Samson what was the cause of his strength, by which he became invincible to his enemies. Accordingly, as they were drinking, and conversing together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and tried to get out of him by subtilty how it was he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven green withs of a vine woven together, he

[1] This fountain, called Lehi, or Jaw-bone, is still in existence, as travellers assure us, and was known by this very name in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all the past ages. See Antiq. vii. 12, § 4.—W.

[2] *Ghuzzeh.*

would be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was the worse for drink and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then awoke him and told him some of her people were upon him, but he broke the withs, and endeavoured to defend himself, as though some people really were upon him. And she, in the constant intercourse Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affection to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to be concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her as the third thing, to weave his hair into a web: but even upon doing this the truth was not discovered. At last Samson, upon Delilah's prayer (for he was doomed to fall into calamity), wishing to please her, said to her, "God cares for me, and I was born providentially, and so I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to cut my hair, for my strength is in the growth and preservation of my hair." When she had learned this, she deprived him of his hair, and delivered him up to his enemies, for he was no longer strong enough to defend himself against their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and led him about among them.

§ 12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers and notables were feasting together (and the banqueting-hall in which they were had its roof supported by two pillars); and they sent for Samson to come to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. And he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes if he should not be able to revenge himself for being thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and begged him to bring him near the pillars, and as soon as he came near them, he rushed violently against them, and overthrew the house, by overturning the pillars, with the three thousand

men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. Such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And, indeed, he deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and the magnanimity of his death, and because his wrath against his enemies lasted till his death. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist sins, but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was a man of extraordinary virtue. And his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sariasa,[1] his own country, with the rest of his family.

CHAP. IX.

How, under Eli's Government of the Israelites, Boaz married Ruth, from whom came Obed, the Grandfather of David.

§ 1.

NOW after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. In his days, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, a city belonging to the tribe of Judah, being unable to support so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and his sons by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed to the land of Moab, and his affairs prospering there, he took for his sons Moabitish wives, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. In the course of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons, died: and Naomi being very uneasy at these events, and unable to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and as they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them

[1] The Zorah, and Zoreah of the Bible; it is now *Sur'ah*, on the north side of 'the Valley of Sorek,' *Wâdy Surâr*, opposite Beth Shemesh, *'Ain Shems*.

from it, though she begged them not; but as they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also, and seeing her own fortunes were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and sharing with her in the uncertainty under which she must live there. Then Orpah stayed behind, but she took Ruth along with her, who was not to be persuaded to stay behind, but determined to share her fortune, whatever it might prove.

§ 2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Boaz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her: and when Naomi was called by the people by her name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue happiness, and Mara sorrow. It was now time of harvest, and Ruth, by the permission of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get food. Now it so happened that she went into Boaz's field, and after some time Boaz came there, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning her. He had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master; who kindly greeted her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of her dead husband, and prayed that she might have prosperity, and bade her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to the servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner and drink, when he brought theirs to the reapers. Now Ruth kept for her mother-in-law the barley-meal that she received of him, and returned to her in the evening, and brought her ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Boaz had said to her: and when Naomi had informed her that he was near akin to them, and was so pious a man as perhaps to make some provision for them, she went out again on the following days, to glean with Boaz's maid-servants.

§ 3. It was not many days before Boaz, as the barley was

being winnowed, slept in his threshing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly, she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet, who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she escaped the notice of Boaz, as he was fast asleep, but when he awoke about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked her who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired, that he whom she owned for her lord, would excuse her, he said no more then, but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awoke her, and bade her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law, before anybody should see that she had lain down there by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially as there had been nothing wrong done. "But as to the main point," he said, "the matter shall rest thus. He that is nearer of kin than I am shall be asked whether he wants to take you to wife, if he says he does, you shall follow him; but if he refuse, I will marry you according to the law."

§ 4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad, from the hope they had that Boaz would make provision for them. And about noon Boaz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and sent for Ruth, and called her kinsman also, and when he was come, he said, "Have not you the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he had, as was permitted by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Boaz, "You must not remember the laws by halves, but do everything according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom you must marry according to the laws, if you wish to keep those fields." So the man yielded up both the inheritance and the wife to Boaz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, on the score that he had a wife and children already. So Boaz called the senate to witness, and bade the woman loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law;

and when this was done, Boaz married Ruth, and they had a son a year after. Naomi herself nursed him, and at the advice of the women, called him Obed, as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age, for Obed signifies a servant in the Hebrew dialect. The son of Obed was Jesse, the father of David the king, who left the kingdom to his sons for one-and-twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I wished to demonstrate the power of God, who without difficulty can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David, though born of such parents.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Birth of Samuel, and how he foretold the Calamity that befell the Sons of Eli.

§ 1.

AND now, as their affairs were in a bad condition, the Hebrews made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophni and Phinehas. These sons of Eli were guilty of insolence towards men and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of the gifts they carried off, as belonging to their office, others they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by presents, and the whole course of their life was no better than a tyranny. Their father therefore was angry with them for their wickedness, and continually expected that God would inflict punishment upon them for their doings. The multitude were disgusted also. And as soon as God foretold the calamity which would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, Eli openly grieved for his sons.

§ 2. I will first speak about the prophet Samuel, and after that of the sons of Eli, and of the miseries they brought

on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elkanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow-citizens, who dwelt at Ramah,[1] a city belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best, although she was barren. Now Elkanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was placed, as I have before said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at the festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw Peninnah's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented her barrenness and lonesomeness, and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolation, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her offspring, and to make her a mother, and vowed to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, who sat there before the tabernacle, bade her go away, thinking she was intoxicated; but when she said she had drank water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bade her be of good cheer, and told her that God would give her a son.

§ 3. So she returned to her husband full of hope, and eat her food with gladness, and when they had gone back to their own country, she was soon with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, as if one were to say asked of God. They therefore went to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; and the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. And his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. And Elkanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

§ 4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old he began to prophesy: and once when he was asleep, God called to him by his name, but he, supposing he had been called by

[1] Site not identified.

the high priest, came to him, but when Eli said he had not called him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before, it is God that calls you. So answer him, and say, here I am." So when Samuel heard God speak again, he begged him to deliver what message he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration he might desire of him, to which God replied, "Since you are here, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, too great for words to declare, or faith to believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar, for Eli has loved his sons more than he has loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." This message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for he had no wish to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the loss of his sons; and the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being seen that whatever he prophesied came to pass.

CHAP. XI.

Wherein is declared what befell the Sons of Eli, the Ark, and the People; and how Eli himself died miserably.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city of Aphek.[1] Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of the multitude to their camp.

§ 2. And the Hebrews, being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in battle array, when it was present with them, they might

[1] Site not identified.

be too hard for their enemies, not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure this calamity was greater than the ark, and was the cause of the ark's being honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they intended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phinehas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned the office to him because of his great age. And the Hebrews were full of courage, supposing that by the coming of the ark they would be too much for their enemies: while the enemies were very dismayed, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites. However, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectations of either side, for when the batttle was fought, the victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and the defeat the Philistines were afraid of happened to the Hebrews, who thereby found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were at once routed as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest, and the ark was carried away by the enemies.

§ 3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came and brought the news), the whole city was full of lamentation. And Eli the high priest, who sat upon a high seat at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family, so he sent for the young man, and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not so much uneasy as to his sons, or as to what was told him about the army, having known before by divine revelation that these things would happen, and having himself declared them before, for when sad things come unexpectedly they distress men most; but as soon as he heard that the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected, so he rolled off his seat and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and held the government forty of them.

§ 4. On the same day his son Phinehas' wife died also,

not being able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour, and she bore a seven months' son, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Ichabod, which name signifies disgrace, because the army received disgrace at that time.

§ 5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the high-priesthood, for the house of Eleazar officiated as high priests at first, the high-priesthood regularly descending from father to son, for Eleazar bequeathed it to his son Phinehas, and after him his son Abiezer took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom I have been speaking, had the high-priesthood, and so had his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign, but then the posterity of Eleazar re-assumed it.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

CHAP I.

The Destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their Land, from the Wrath of God, on account of their having carried the Ark away captive; and how they sent it back to the Hebrews.

§ 1.

WHEN the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city of Ashdod,[1] and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon,[2] as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple, the next morning, to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark; for he lay on the ground, having fallen down from the base

[1] *Esdûd.*

[2] Dagon, a famous maritime god or idol, is generally supposed to have been like a man above the navel, and like a fish beneath it.—W.

whereon he stood. So they took him up, and set him on his base again, and were very troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon, and found him still lying on the ground, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At last God sent destruction and disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery, a sore distemper that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could by an easy death be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, which were eaten through, and vomited them up entirely rotted away by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice came up out of the earth, and hurt them, and spared neither plants nor fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were undergoing these trials, and were not able to bear up under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had got, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Ascalon, and asked that they would receive the ark among them. This request of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Ascalon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had got the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it the plagues that the people of Ashdod had suffered to those who received it from them. Those of Ascalon therefore also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it remain with those others either, for as they were pursued by the same plagues, they sent it on to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round in this manner to five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these plagues as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

§ 2. As those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and as those that heard of them learnt thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute and price for it, at last they sought for some contrivance and means to get free from it: so the rulers of the five cities, Gath,[1] Ekron,[2] Ascalon,[3] Gaza, and Ashdod, met together, and considered what was to be

[1] *Tell es-Sáfi.* [2] *'Akir.* [3] *'Askalán.*

done; and at first they thought it best to send the ark back to its own people, in the idea that God had avenged its cause, and that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. Others said they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded into ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such a power and influence upon them; for had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: so they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain periods of time produces such changes in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves previously by their understanding and prudence, and who, in the present circumstances, seemed more than all the rest to speak to the point. These men said it was not right either to send the ark away or to detain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for each city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to face. They also advised to make five golden mice, like those that devoured and destroyed their country, and to put them in a box and lay them upon the ark; to make also a new cart for the ark, and to yoke milch kine to it, but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hindrance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire for their calves; then to drive those milch kine that carried the ark, and leave them at a place where three roads met, and to let the kine go along whichever of those roads they pleased, and in case they took the way to the Hebrews, and went into their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes, but if they should turn into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it."

§ 3. So they determined that these men spoke well, and immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three roads met, and left it there, and went their way, and the kine took the right road, as if some one had led them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, wishing to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village belonging to the tribe of Judah, whose name was Bethshemesh,[1] and to that village did the kine go, and though there was an extensive and fertile plain before them to proceed in, they went no further, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being in the fields gathering in the harvest, they left off the labour of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart; and taking the ark off it, and the box that had the images and the mice in it, they set it upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered up the cart and kine as a burnt-offering: and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

§ 4. And now it was, that the wrath and anger of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons dead in the village of Bethshemesh, who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached it. The people of the village wept for these that thus suffered, and made such lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune sent by God, and everyone mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public authorities of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; and when they knew this, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim,[2] a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city

[1] *'Ain Shems.*

[2] Kirjathjearim, or Baalah, was on the boundary between Benjamin and Judah, and belonged to the latter tribe. It is now probably *Khurbet 'Erma*, about four miles west of *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh.

lived one Abinadab, a Levite by birth, who was greatly esteemed for his righteous and religious life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did abide a righteous man. His sons also took care of the ark, and were the custodians of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

CHAP II.

The Expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Hebrews' Victory under Samuel the Prophet, who was their General.

§ 1.

NOW, while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and manifested much concern and zeal about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and the blessings that would accompany the same. Accordingly, he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious and friendly, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper means to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get rid of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them: but be righteous and cast wickedness out of your souls and cure it, and by your worship supplicate the divine majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him. For if you act thus you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain, either by weapons of war, or by the strength of your bodies, or by the multi-

tude of allies. For God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by your being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises. When Samuel had said this, the multitude applauded him, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh,[1] which signifies in the Hebrew tongue watch-tower, where they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

§ 2. This assembly of theirs did not escape the notice of the Philistines, and when they learned of their gathering together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty force, hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, and were unprepared. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that was why they kept quiet, lest they should excite the power of their enemies. "And now that you have brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices and take oaths, our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by means of you, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon your prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Thereupon Samuel bade them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking-lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to suffer them to undergo a second misfortune. And God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting the sacrifice with a gracious intention, and as one disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice to God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and

[1] Not identified; possibly *Neby Samwîl*.

drew up in order of battle, in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were intercepted in disadvantageous circumstances,[1] neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, as would hardly have been credited, if they had been foretold by anybody; for in the first place, God disturbed the Philistines with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble and shake, insomuch that by its trembling some were unable to keep their feet, and others were swallowed up in its chasms. Next he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, as to scorch their faces, and so shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them flee unarmed. And Samuel, with the multitude, pursued them to a place called Bethcar,[2] and there he set up a stone as a land-mark of their victory and their enemies' flight, and called it the Stone of Power,[3] as a token of the power God had given them against their enemies.

§ 3. The Philistines after this reverse made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but were quiet, from fear and remembrance of what had befallen them; and the courage which the Philistines formerly had against the Hebrews was, after this victory, transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their pride, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, namely, the country that extended from the borders of Gath[4] to the city of Ekron.[5] The rest of the Canaanites were at this time friendly to the Israelites.

[1] This is the first place, so far as I remember, in these Antiquities, where Josephus begins to call his nation 'Jews,' he having hitherto usually, if not constantly, called them either 'Hebrews' or 'Israelites.' The second place soon follows, chap. iii. § 5.—W.

[2] Not identified.

[3] The stone Eben-ezer was set up between Mizpeh and Shen, 1 Sam. vii. 12. The site is not known.

[4] *Tell es-Sâfi.* [5] *'Akir.*

CHAP. III.

How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old Age, that he could not take care of Public Affairs, intrusted them to his Sons; and how, upon the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they demanded a King to reign over them, although Samuel was much displeased thereat.

§ 1.

NOW Samuel the prophet ordered the affairs of the people well, and appointed a city for every district, and commanded them to come to such cities to have their controversies with one another decided in them, he himself visiting all those cities twice a year, and doing justice; and so he kept everything in good order for a long time.

§ 2. After that, being oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons: the elder of whom was called Joel, and the younger Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel,[1] and the other at Beersheba,[2] and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these sons of Samuel give us an evident example and proof that some children are not of the same disposition as their parents, but sometimes, perhaps, good and virtuous, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves wicked, though born of good parents. For they, turning aside from their father's good course, and taking a way that was contrary, perverted justice for gifts and filthy lucre, and gave their sentences not according to truth, but according to gain, and gave themselves up to luxury and a costly way of living, so that, as in the first place, they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care and pains that the multitude should be righteous.

[1] *Beitîn.* [2] *Bîr es-Seb'a.*

§ 3. But the people, upon these outrages offered to their former polity and government by the prophet's sons, were very vexed at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah,[1] and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and as he was himself old already, and too infirm because of age to manage their affairs in the manner he used to do, they begged and entreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them on the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppression. These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as making those under its rule of a divine and happy disposition: nor could he think either of eating or sleeping, from his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but continued awake all the night long, and revolved these things in his mind.

§ 4. As he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude demanded, because it was not Samuel but himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be their only King; that they had been contriving these things from the very day they came out of Egypt; however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance however could not undo what was thus done for futurity; for they would be sufficiently punished for their contemptuous and ungrateful conduct towards me and your prophetic office. So I command you to appoint one I shall name to be their king, when you have first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified to them what a great change of affairs they are in a hurry to bring about."

§ 5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews together early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to appoint them a king, but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they

[1] Ramah, or Ramathaim-zophim of Mount Ephraim has not yet been identified.

would receive from their kings, and with how many evils they would become familiar. "For know," said he, "in the first place, that they will take your sons away from you, and will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen and body-guards, and others to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and tillers of their fields, and diggers of their vineyards; nor will there be anything which they will not have to do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also make your daughters to be perfumers, and cooks, and bakers; and they will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves in fear of stripes and torments submit to. They will also take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs and body-guards, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants. And to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king and his household; and when you suffer this, you will remember what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, and beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings, he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your ill-advisedness has deserved."

§ 6. But the multitude were still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them; and too discontented to suffer a determination which they had once made to be put out of their minds. For they could not be turned from their purpose, nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and demanded him to appoint them a king immediately, and not to trouble about the future. For they said it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them on their enemies, and it was no way absurd, as their neighbours were under kingly government, that they should have the same polity also. So as Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said,

"Go you every one home for the present; at the fitting season I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king."

CHAP. IV.

The Appointment of a King over the Israelites, whose name was Saul, at the Command of God.

§ 1.

THERE was a man of the tribe of Benjamin, of good family and of a virtuous disposition, whose name was Kish. He had a son, a young man of comely countenance, and tall of body, but his understanding and his mind were even better than his externals. His name was Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that had strayed from the pasture where they fed, and he was more delighted with them than with any other cattle he had; so he sent his son with one servant to search for them. And when he had travelled over his own tribe in search of these asses, he went to the other tribes, and when he found them not there either, he determined to go home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him, as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for they would know from him what had become of the asses, he replied, that if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their journey-money was spent. The servant answered that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that, for they did not know in their ignorance that the prophet took no reward. So they went to him, and when they were before the gates, they lit upon some maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them which was the prophet's house? They showed them which it was, and bade them make haste to consult him before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and his

habit was to sit down before his guests. Now Samuel had gathered many together to feast with him because, as he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for he said he would send him a certain young man of the tribe of Benjamin about that hour of the day; and he sat on the top of his house in expectation of the time being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper, and met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was the future king. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house? for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel told him that he was himself the prophet, and led him into supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been sent to seek, and that blessings of all kinds were assured to him, he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such things, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family humbler than other families; but you tell me this in jest, and make me an object of laughter, when you discourse with me of greater matters than my present need." However, the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him and his servant that followed him sit down above the other guests that were invited, who were seventy in number; and he gave orders to his servants to set the royal portion before Saul. And when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and went home every one of them, but Saul and his servant stayed with the prophet, and slept at his house.

§ 2. And as soon as it was day, Samuel made Saul get up out of his bed, and conducted him on his way, and when he was out of the city, desired him to cause his servant to go on, but to stay behind himself, for he had something to say to him, when nobody else was present. So Saul sent on the servant that followed him, and the prophet took a vial of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king by the ordination of God against the Philistines, and to avenge the Hebrews on them. Of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of. As soon as

thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them, carrying a wine-skin. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. After that thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Tomb,[1] where thou shalt meet with a man who will tell thee thy asses are found. After this, when thou reachest Gabatha,[2] thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and shalt be seized with the divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till everyone that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, 'Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness?' And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; and salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal,[3] that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. And all things happened to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

§ 3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than any other of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what had happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, either his going to Samuel the prophet, or how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought when heard would procure him envy and unbelief; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, as human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend either among our intimates or kindred, or preserves his kind disposition when God advances men to great pros-

[1] Rachel's tomb, on the border of Benjamin, is near Bethlehem, by the side of the road between that place and Jerusalem.

[2] The same place as Gibeah of Saul.

[3] *Jiljûlia*, three miles east of Jericho.

perity, but all are still ill-natured and envious at their successes.

§ 4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mizpeh, and spoke to them in the following words, which he said he was to speak by the command of God. He said that though God had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they had forgotten his benefits, and rejected God for their King, not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of beings; for God was the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings would use their subjects as beasts, according to their will and caprice and other passions, being wholly carried away by the lust of power, and would not endeavour to preserve the race of mankind as their own workmanship and creation, which God for that very reason would take care of. "But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this intention to outrage God has quite mastered you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and families and cast lots."

§ 5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken, and when the lot was cast for the individuals of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he immediately went away and hid himself, I suppose because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the kingdom. Nay, he showed such a degree of self-control and modesty, that while most people are not able to contain their joy even when they gain small advantages, but are eager to exhibit themselves publicly to all men, he did not only show nothing of that nature, though he was appointed lord of so many and so great tribes, but stole away and concealed himself from the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So as the people were in bewilderment and anxious at Saul's disappearance, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. And when he had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, he sent men to fetch him, and when he was come he set him in the midst of the

multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and in stature looked every inch a king.

§ 6. Then said the prophet, "God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of the dominion." And as soon as the people had shouted with acclamation, God save the king! the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. And when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and returned himself to the city of Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah,[1] where he was born: and many good men accompanied him and paid him the honour due to the king, but there were several bad men, who despised him, and derided the others, and did neither bring him presents, nor in word or deed try to please him.

CHAP. V.

Saul's Expedition against the Nation of the Ammonites, his Victory over them, and the Spoil he took from them.

§ 1.

BUT one month afterwards the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people. This Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond the Jordan, by an expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities to slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present by force and violence, but weakening them by subtilty and cunning, that they might not be able afterwards to get rid of their slavery to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either surrendered to him upon conditions, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that as

[1] Gibeah apparently lay between Geba, *Jeb'a*, and Jerusalem; it is placed by Robinson at *Tuleil el-Fûl*, but the identification is doubtful; it is regarded by some writers as a district name.

their left eyes would be covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war.[1] Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond the Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites; and having pitched his camp near the chief city of his enemies, which was Jabesh,[2] he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to surrender and have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege and have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or utterly perish. And the Gileadites were so terrified that they had not courage to say anything to either of these proposals, either that they would deliver themselves up, or that they would fight. But they asked Nahash to give them seven days' truce, that they might send envoys to their countrymen and entreat their assistance, and if assistance came to them, they would fight, but if it were impossible to get that from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he was pleased to inflict upon them.

§ 2. And Nahash, despising the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a truce, and gave them leave to send to whomever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to all the cities of the Israelites, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and of the hopeless condition they were in. And the people fell into tears and grief on hearing what the envoys from Jabesh said, but the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. And when the messengers came to the city of king Saul, and revealed the danger in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of their kindred. And when Saul returned from his farm to the

[1] Take here Theodoret's note, cited by Dr. Hudson: "He that exposes his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: he therefore that plucks out that eye makes men useless in war."—W.

[2] Eusebius places Jabesh Gilead six Roman miles from Pella, on the road to Gerasa, *Jerash*. The name survives in *Wâdy el-Yâbis*, and the town was probably at *ed-Deir*.

city, he found the citizens weeping, and when, upon inquiry, he learned the cause of their confusion and dejection, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent home the envoys from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rise, that the rising sun might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from their fears. He also bade some of them stay to show him the way to Jabesh.

§ 3. And wishing to excite the people to war against the Ammonites by fear of punishment, and that they might concentrate with greater celerity, he cut the sinews of his yoke of oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come armed to the Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet wherever they should lead them. So they mustered in fear of the punishment they were threatened with at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city of Bezek.[1] And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides those of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he crossed over the Jordan, and marched all that night some thirty-seven miles, and got to Jabesh before sun-rise. Then he divided the army into three companies, and fell upon the enemy on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing: and joining battle with them, he slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nahash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for valour: for although there were some that despised him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of them all. For he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took much spoil, and returned to his own country in glory. And the people were greatly pleased at this success of Saul, and rejoiced that they had made such a one their king. They also clamoured against

[1] *Khurbet Ibzîk.* Thirteen miles north-east of *Nâblus*, Shechem.

those that had said he would be no good to their affairs, and said, "Where now are these men, let them be brought to punishment," with all the similar things that multitudes usually say, when they are elated with prosperity, against those that lately held cheap the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and affection of these men very kindly, swore that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, for it was monstrous to mix the victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same race as themselves, and that it was more fitting to be friendly disposed to one another and to feast together.

§ 4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second inauguration, they all assembled at the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. Then the prophet anointed Saul again with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude, and proclaimed him king the second time. And so the polity of the Hebrews was changed into a regal one, for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued an aristocracy, and after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were an anarchy; after which they returned to their former polity, permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best and most courageous warrior, so they called this period of their government the era of Judges.

§ 5. Then did Samuel the prophet convene an assembly, and said, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brothers, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and rescued our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not yield to modesty, or suppress anything out of fear, or give way to any other passion, but say out what I have ever done that was bad or unjust, for gain or in covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, though, when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use to the grief of anyone? Lay one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, that

nothing of the kind had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation in a holy and just manner.

§ 6. Thereupon Samuel, as this testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come now, and hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king. It behoved you to remember that our ancestor Jacob went down into Egypt, because of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many myriads, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression, and that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brothers, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and that without a king, and they brought you into this very land which you now possess. Yet though you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion. Nevertheless, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, and next by making you to overcome the Ammonites, and the Moabites, and last of all, the Philistines. And these things were achieved under the lead of Jephthah and Gideon, and not of a king. What madness therefore possessed you to flee from God, and to desire to be under a king? Yet have I appointed him king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so contrive that he shall declare this very plainly to you by a miracle, for I will entreat of God that he will now manifest to you, what none of you ever saw here before, a storm in the midst of harvest." Now, as soon as he had said this to the people, God attested the truth of all that the prophet had said by thunder and lightning and the descent of hail, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed that they had sinned, and had fallen into this sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him, and transgressed against

him. So he promised them, that he would beseech God, and urge him to forgive them this sin. However, he advised them to be righteous and good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also, to remember the signs God had showed them, and the laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved, and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God both upon them and their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

CHAP. VI.

How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten by them.

§ 1.

NOW Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them for his own body-guards, and dwelt himself in the city of Bethel,[1] but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be his body-guards, and sent him to Gibeah.[2] And Jonathan took by storm a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal. For the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places in the country, and had forbidden the Jews to carry any instrument of iron, or to make use of iron at all. And on account of this prohibition, if their husbandmen required to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were coulter, or spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they had to come to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of the slaughter of their garrison, they were in a great rage about it, and looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they marched against the Jews with three hundred thousand foot, and

[1] *Beitîn.* [2] See note 1, p. 360.

thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horse, and pitched their camp near the city of Michmash.[1] When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city of Gilgal,[2] and made proclamation over all the country, and called on the people to try to regain their liberty by fighting against the Philistines. And he made light of their forces, and depreciated them as not very considerable, and as not so great but that they might hazard a battle with them. But when the army of Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were in great consternation, and some of them hid themselves in caves and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond the Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

§ 2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and summoned him to consult with him about the war and public affairs. And he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him after six days, that they might offer sacrifice on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited,[3] as the prophet ordered him to do, but he did not entirely obey the command that was given him, for when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was being deserted by his soldiers, he took the victims and offered sacrifice. And when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. And the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent him, and by not staying till his coming, which, though

[1] Now *Mukhmás*. [2] *Jiljúlia*.

[3] Saul seems to have stayed till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel the prophet of God had appointed him, but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done; and Samuel appears, by delaying to come to the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him (who seems to have been already, for some time, declining from his strict and bounden subordination to God and his prophet, to have taken life-guards for himself and his son, which was entirely a new thing in Israel, and savoured of a distrust of God's providence, and to have affected more than he ought that independent authority which the pagan kings took to themselves); Samuel, I say, seems to have here tried Saul, whether he would stay till the priest came, who alone could lawfully offer the sacrifices, or would boldly and profanely usurp the priest's office, which he venturing upon, was justly rejected for his profaneness.—W.

according to the will of God, he had anticipated by offering up those prayers, and those sacrifices, that he should have made for the multitude, thereby performing sacred rites informally and hastily. Thereupon Saul made apology for himself, and said, that he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been induced to offer sacrifice from the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, from their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report having spread that they were coming down upon him to Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, "If you had been a righteous man, and not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me in the present state of affairs, by acting more hastily than the case required, you would have been permitted to reign a long time, and your posterity after you." Then Samuel, grieved at what had happened, returned home, and Saul went to the city of Gibeah with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and most of these had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons, for, as I showed a little before, the Philistines had prohibited the manufacturing of weapons. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, as no more than six hundred men were with them. And as he and his son, and Abiah the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and stir up a tumult and panic among them. And when the armour-bearer readily promised to follow him wherever he should lead him, though he should die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and made his way to the enemy. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice, which had three peaks ending in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like bulwarks to prevent the attack of an enemy. It so happened that

the camp there was carelessly guarded, because of the security that was felt from the situation of the place, and because it was thought altogether impossible for anyone not only to ascend to the camp in that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack the enemy, and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, let us take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing and invite us not, let us return back again." And as they were approaching the enemy's camp, just after break of day, the Philistines saw them, and said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" and they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt." So Saul's son accepted the invitation, as signifying to him victory, and immediately left the place whence they were seen by their enemies, and changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it because of its strength; and there they crept up with great difficulty, but so far overcame the natural difficulty of the ground that they climbed up to the enemy. And they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and panic, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled, but most of them, not knowing one another because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies (for they did not imagine it was only two Hebrews that had climbed up), and so they fought one against another: and some of them died in battle, and some, as they were fleeing away, were thrown headlong down the rock.

§ 3. And when Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion, he inquired whether anybody had gone from the army. And when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bade the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they would have; and he said, that they would get the victory, and prevail over their enemies. So he went out after the Philistines, and fell upon them as they were in

disorder and slaying one another. Those who had fled to dens and caves came running to him, on hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When therefore the number of Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy who were scattered all over the country; but then he did an unfortunate thing, and one liable to be much blamed, whether unwittingly, or from joy at a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not able to act with reason. For wishing to avenge himself, and exact due punishment from the Philistines, he denounced a curse on the Hebrews, that if anyone stopped slaughtering the enemy, and ate anything, and left off the slaughter or pursuit before night came on and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed. Now after Saul had uttered this curse, when they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father utter that curse, nor the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honeycomb and ate part of it. But meantime he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste anything before sunset, so he left off eating, and said that his father had not done well in this prohibition, for had they taken some food, they would have pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and both taken and slain many more of them.

§ 4. When therefore they had slain many myriads of the Philistines, they turned to spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of spoil, and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. And it was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude was sinning against God, as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh made clean. Then Saul gave orders that a great stone should be rolled into the midst, and made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

§ 5. And Saul wishing to lead his men to the enemy's camp, in order to plunder it before it was day, and the soldiers not hesitating to follow him, but indeed showing great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him permission to go against the enemy's camp, to destroy those that were in it. And when the high priest said, that God did not give any answer, "It is not without some cause," said Saul, "that God refuses to answer what we inquire of him, as only a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even anticipated us in his answer. Surely there is some sin against him, that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and so appease the anger of God, just as I would punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." And as the multitude cried out to him so to do, he forthwith set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. And the lot fell upon Jonathan himself. And when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of? and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed guilt or profaneness? his answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath you had pronounced, when I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted a honeycomb." But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer keeping his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself nobly and magnanimously, said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, since it proceeds from your piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Thereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan, and they swore that they would not see Jonathan die, who was the author of their victory. So they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his

father's curse, while they also made their prayers to God for the young man, that he would forgive his sin.

§ 6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily. He also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines,[1] and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three sons, Jonathan, and Ishui, and Melchishua, and two daughters, Merab and Michal. And Abner, his uncle's son, was captain of his host, the uncle's name was Ner. For Ner and Kish, the father of Saul, were brothers, and the sons of Abiel. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations. And he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness his body-guards.

CHAP. VII.

Saul's War with the Amalekites, and Conquest of them.

§ 1.

NOW Samuel came to Saul, and said to him, that he was sent by God to remind him that God had preferred him above all others and appointed him king, that he ought therefore to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet God had the dominion over him, and over all things. He then said that God said to him, "Since the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief when they were in the wilderness, when on their coming out of Egypt they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin you to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them, and when you have subdued them, you are to leave none of them alive,

[1] An Aramean state situated to the east of Coelesyria, and extending north-east and east to the Euphrates.

but to slay every age indiscriminately, beginning with the women and infants, and to exact this as a punishment upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. You are to spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them all to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek [1] entirely.

§ 2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only by making war against the Amalekites, but also by the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal,[2] he found them to be about four hundred thousand Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, which contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only injure them by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly when on the march, and might surround them and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy he beat them, and, pursuing them as they fled, destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded according as God had foretold, he attacked the cities of the Amalekites, and besieged them, and took them by storm, some by warlike machines, some by mines dug under ground, some by building walls on the outside, some by famine, and some by other methods, and proceeded to slay women and children, and thought he did not therein act either barbarously or inhumanly, first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and in

[1] The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xv. 18: "Go, and utterly destroy the sinners, the Amalekites." Nor, indeed, do we ever meet with these Amalekites but as very cruel and bloody people, and particularly seeking to injure and utterly to destroy the nation of Israel, Exod. xvii. 8-16; Numb. xiv. 45; Deut. xxv. 17-19; Judges vi. 3, 6; 1 Sam. xv. 33; Psalm lxxxiii. 7; and above all the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, Esther iii. 1-16.—W.

[2] In 1 Sam. xv. 4, the place of assembly is said to have been Telaim; the reading of the Lxx., however, agrees with Josephus.

the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemy's king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of saving alive, no longer acting according to the will of God, but giving way to private feeling, and gratifying an unseasonable pity, in a case where it was not safe for him to indulge it. For God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity even on those infants whom we by nature especially commiserate, howbeit Saul preserved their king, though the instigator of all the miseries of the Hebrews, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude also were guilty as well as Saul, for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them all their substance and wealth, but if there was anything that was not worthy of their attention, that they destroyed.

§ 3. And when Saul had conquered all the Amalekites that reached from Pelusium [1] in Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country; but for the nation of the Shechemites,[2] he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the land of Midian;[3] for, Saul had sent to them before the battle, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the ruin of the Amalekites, for his reason for saving them was that they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses' father-in-law.

§ 4. Then Saul returned home with joy at his success against the enemies, as though he had not neglected anything which the prophet had enjoined him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done.

[1] The Sin of Ezek. xxx. 15; the ruins are to be found at *Tineh*, not far from *Port Said*.

[2] In 1 Sam. xv. 6, the name is given as 'the Kenites.'

[3] The land of Midian appears in this passage to include the desert *et-Tih*, and not to be confined to the country east of the Gulf of *'Akabah*.

But God was angry that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because it was done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by the power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man, that was a king, would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented he had made Saul king, as he did nothing that he commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that he was very troubled, and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him: but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, not deeming it fit to grant forgiveness of sins at his entreaties, for they grow by nothing so much as the indulgence of those that are wronged, for while people hunt after the reputation of being gentle and good-natured, before they are aware, they produce the very sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, Samuel at break of day came to Saul to Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran up to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God who has given me the victory, and have done everything that he commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of sheep, and the lowing of cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer that the people had reserved them for sacrifice, but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had been ordered, and that no one was left, but that he had saved the king alive alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him. But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that anything is well done by them, but when they do it as God has commanded them: for he looks upon himself as affronted, not when anyone does not sacrifice, but when anybody appears to be disobedient to him. And from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty

which is the only true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so many and fat, and be the presents they make him never so ornamental,—nay, though they be made of gold and silver, he will reject them, and esteem them arguments of wickedness, and not piety. And he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do whatever God tells or commands them to do, and to choose rather to die than transgress any of those commands, nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when such do sacrifice, though it be but a mean oblation, he better accepts of the honour than such oblations as come from the richest men. Know then that you are under the wrath of God, for you have despised and neglected what he commanded you. How do you suppose that he will accept a sacrifice of such things as he has doomed to destruction? unless perchance you imagine that it is all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Expect therefore that your kingdom will be taken from you, as well as the authority which you so relied on as to neglect the God who bestowed it upon you." Then did Saul confess that he had acted wrong, and did not deny that he had sinned in transgressing the injunctions of the prophet, but he said, that it was out of dread and fear of the soldiers that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. "But forgive me," said he, "and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come." He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, and offer thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

§ 5. And now Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because Samuel's eagerness to depart made the tugging violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that the kingdom should be rent from him in the same manner, and that a good and just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; for to be mutable and changeable in what was determined consorted with human passion only, not with the divine power. Then Saul said that he had done wrong, but that

what was done could not be undone, he therefore begged him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag, also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when he asked, how death was bitter, Samuel said: "As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail their children, so shalt thou by thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also." And he gave orders to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and himself returned to the city of Ramah.

CHAP. VIII.

How, upon Saul's Transgressing of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel anointed privately another Person to be King, whose name was David, as God commanded him.

§ 1.

THEN Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, went up to his royal palace at Gibeah,[1] which name denotes a hill, and after that day came no more into the presence of the prophet. And as Samuel continued mourning for him, God bade him leave off his concern for him, and take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem[2] to Jesse, the son of Obed, and anoint the one of his sons he should show him as the future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either privately or openly. But upon God's promising him safety in going there, he went to the forementioned city, and when they all saluted him, and asked, "What was the cause of his coming?" he told them, he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had sacrificed, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of the sacrifice, and when he noticed that his eldest son was tall and handsome, he guessed by his comeliness that he was to be the future king. But he was mistaken

[1] See note 1, p. 360. [2] *Beit Lahm.*

in judging of God's purpose, for when he inquired of God whether he should anoint with oil this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom? God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. You indeed regard only the fine appearance of the youth, and so esteem him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I seek one that is perfectly comely in that respect, one who is adorned with piety, and righteousness, and bravery, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse show him all his sons. So he made five other of his sons come to him, of whom Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammah the third, Nathanael the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their looks, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose as the king? And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse, whether he had any other sons besides these? and when he said he had one more, named David, but that he was a shepherd and took care of the flocks, Samuel bade them call him immediately, for till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a ruddy complexion, of keen sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make king.—So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth next him, and then Jesse and his sons; after which he took oil, in the sight of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God had chosen him to be king: and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for so his kingdom would continue for a long time, and his house would be of great splendour and celebrated, and he would overthrow the Philistines, and against whatever nation he made war, he would be conqueror, and survive the fight, and while he lived would enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

§ 2. And Samuel, when he had given him these instructions, went away, and the Spirit of the Lord departed

from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange disorders and evil spirits came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him, for which the physicians could devise no other remedy but that, if any person could charm those evil spirits away by singing and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these evil spirits came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand near him and play on the harp, and recite hymns to him. And Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a person. And when one of those that were present said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was no more yet than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one deserving of regard, who was skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an excellent soldier in war, he sent to Jesse and ordered him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he wished to see him, having heard of his comeliness and valour. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and held him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was his only physician against the trouble he had from the evil spirits whenever they came upon him, and that by reciting of hymns and playing upon the harp, and making Saul himself again. So he sent to Jesse the father of the lad, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for he was delighted with his sight and company, which stay, not to contradict Saul, he granted.

CHAP. IX.

How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, in the Reign of Saul, and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in single Combat.

§ 1.

NOW the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time after, and having got together a great army, marched against the Israelites: and having occupied a place between Socoh[1] and Azekah,[2] pitched their camp there. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them, and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp upon another similar hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps. Now there came down a man from the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Goliath, of the city of Gath,[3] a man of vast bulk, for he was four cubits and a span in height, and had weapons proportioned to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels; he had also a helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear also was not a light thing to be carried in his right hand, but he carried it lying on his shoulders. His lance also weighed six hundred shekels: and many followed him carrying his armour. So this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and cried out in a loud voice, and said to Saul and to the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of yours that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall end the war; for that army to which the conqueror belongs shall be lord over the

[1] *Khurbet Shuweikeh.*

[2] Now *Zakariya*, S.S.W. of *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh. The valley between the two armies is now called *Wâdy es-Sunt.*

[3] *Tell es-Sâfi.*

other, and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again and used the same words, and did not leave off forty days together challenging the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified. And they put themselves in array as if for a fight, but did not come to close quarters.

§ 2. Now at the commencement of this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines, Saul sent David home to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance to share in the dangers of the war; and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but no long time after he went to the camp of the Hebrews, being sent by his father to carry provisions to his brothers, and to know what they were doing. And as Goliath came again and challenged them, and reproached them with having no man of valour among them that durst come down to fight him, David, who was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and was indignant, and said to his brothers that he was ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Thereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spoke too rashly for one of his age, and ignorantly, and bade him return to his flocks and to his father, And he was abashed at his brother's words and went away, but still told some of the soldiers that he wished to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul of the desire of the young man, the king sent for him, and when he asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down or afraid, for I will take down the insolence of this adversary, and will go and fight with him, and subdue him under me, tall and big as he is, till he shall be a laughing-stock, and your army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, nor fit for fighting, or being intrusted with the marshalling of an army, or ordering of a battle, but one that looks like a lad, and is really no older."

§ 3. And Saul wondered at the boldness and stout-

heartedness of David, but had not confidence in his ability by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilful in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued and caught a lion that had attacked my flocks and carried off a lamb, and I snatched the lamb out of the beast's mouth, and when it rushed at me, I took it by the tail, and dashed it against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also. Let therefore this adversary of ours be esteemed as one of those wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who will yet reduce him under my own power."

§ 4. Then Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, as the alacrity and boldness of the lad promised, and said, "Go to the fight." And he put about him his own breast-plate, and girded on him his own sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with the king's armour, for he had not learned or been used to wear armour, so he said, "Let this armour deck you out, O king, seeing you are able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as your servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly, he laid down the armour, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into his shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the enemy, seeing him coming in such a manner, disdained him, and jeered at him for not having such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and keeping off dogs, and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn to pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest against me with a sword and with a spear, and with a breast-plate, but I, in coming against thee, have God for my armour, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands. For I will this day

cut off thy head, and cast the rest of thy body to dogs like thee, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and strength is his care, and that, without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour from advancing to meet David quickly, came on but slowly, despising him and feeling confident that he should slay him, as he was not only unarmed, but a lad also, without any trouble at all.

§ 5. But the youth met his antagonist accompanied by an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones out of the brook that he had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slung it against the Philistine's forehead, and it penetrated to his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned and fell upon his face. Then David ran, and stood over his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword, for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath the Philistines were beaten and fled: for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of utter ruin, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and disorderly flight, and so endeavoured to extricate themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews raised a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ascalon,[1] and thirty thousand of the Philistines were slain, and twice as many were wounded. And Saul returned from the pursuit to the camp of the Philistines, and broke down and set on fire its works, and David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God.

[1] *'Askalân.*

CHAP. X.

Saul envies David for his glorious Success, and takes an Occasion of entrapping him, from the Promise he made him of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, on Condition of his bringing six hundred Heads of the Philistines.

§ 1.

NOW the women stirred up Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet the victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and every demonstration of joy, and the wives sang, "Saul has slain his thousands of the Philistines," while the virgins replied, "David has slain his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and noticed that he had himself the smallest share in their praises, and that the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself, that there was nothing more wanting to David after such a mighty acclamation but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of him. So he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which out of his fear seemed too near a station to himself, so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but as he thought, more dangerous for him, for he had a mind to send him against the enemy and into battles, hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

§ 2. But David had God going along with him wherever he went, and accordingly it was visible that he greatly prospered in his undertakings, insomuch that not only the people, but Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him on account of his eminent bravery, and her affection so far mastered her that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard of it gladly, intending to make use of it as a snare against David, and hoping that it would prove the cause of destruction and danger to him, so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I pledge

myself to give my daughter in marriage to him, if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies. For, as so great a prize is offered him, wishing to get great glory by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he will immediately set about it, and so perish by the hand of the Philistines, and my designs against him will succeed finely, for I shall be rid of him and get him slain, not by myself, but by others." So he gave orders to his servants to try how David relished this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to tell him, that king Saul loved him, as did all the people, and was desirous of affinity with him by his marrying his daughter. To which he gave this answer, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially as I am in a lowly condition, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants of the answer David had made, he said, "Tell him, that I do not want any money or dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire a son-in-law who has valour and all other kinds of virtue, of which I see David is possessed. And my desire is to receive from him, on account of his marrying my daughter, neither gold nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and, indeed, six hundred of their heads. For no more desirable or glorious present could be brought me than this, and it is far more desirable than any of the accustomed dowries for my daughter, that she should be married to a man of David's character, who had a reputation for having conquered his enemies."

§ 3. When these words of Saul were repeated to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him, so that, without waiting to deliberate or cast about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible or difficult, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. And, as God made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many of the Philistines, and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and returned to the king, and,

showing him these heads, asked the hand of his daughter in marriage. And Saul having no way of getting off his promise, thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar, or to appear to have acted treacherously to David, in putting him upon what was impossible, to try and get him slain, gave him his daughter in marriage. Her name was Michal.

CHAP. XI.

How David, upon Saul's laying Snares for him, escaped the Danger he was in, by the Affection and Care of Jonathan, and the Contrivance of his Wife Michal: and how he went to Samuel the Prophet.

§ 1.

HOWEVER, Saul was not disposed to let things continue long in the state in which they were, for when he saw that David was in great esteem both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid; and being unable to conceal his fear as it was about great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a dreadful calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan, and his most faithful servants, to kill him. But Jonathan wondered at his father's immense change with respect to David, from showing him no small good-will, to want to have him killed, and as he loved the young man and reverenced him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret orders his father had given, and of his intentions concerning him. And he also advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for he would visit his father; and, if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about David, and learn the cause of his dislike, and show how little ground there was for it, and that he ought not for it to kill a man that had done so much for the people, and had been a benefactor to himself, on which account he ought in reason to obtain pardon, even had he been guilty of the greatest crimes. "I will inform you," he added, "of my father's state of mind." And David complied with such good advice, and kept himself out of the king's sight.

§ 2. The next day Jonathan went to Saul, and finding him cheerful and gay, began to introduce conversation about David. "What crime, father, either small or great, have you found in David, to induce you to order us to slay a man who has been of great use as regards your own preservation, and of still greater as a scourge to the Philistines?—a man who has delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, as he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; so that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation to him, for your daughter is wronged by his death, who will experience widowhood by it before she has enjoyed much advantage from marriage. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who, in the first place, has done us the greatest kindness in preserving you, for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon you, he cast them out, and procured peace to your soul from them; and in the second place, he avenged us of our enemies; and it is a base thing to forget such benefits." Now Saul was talked over by these words, and swore to his son that he would do David no harm, for justice and reason overcame the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good and reassuring messages from his father. Jonathan also took David to Saul, and he continued with the king as before.

§ 3. About this time the Philistines made a second expedition against the Hebrews, and Saul sent David with an army to fight against them; and joining battle with them, he slew many of them, and after his victory returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not what he expected after such success, for the king was grieved at his victory, because he thought David would be more dangerous to him after so glorious an exploit, and when the evil spirit came next upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into the chamber wherein he lay, having a spear in his hand, and ordered him to drive the evil

spirit away by playing on his harp, and singing hymns, and when David did so at his command, he threw the spear with great force at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

§ 4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might be tried and condemned and put to death. But when Michal, David's wife and the king's daughter, heard what her father designed, she went to her husband, having small hopes of his deliverance, and greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find you here when it rises, for if it does it will be the last time it will see you. Flee away while the night gives you opportunity; and may God lengthen it for your sake! for know that, if my father find you, you are a dead man." And she let him down by a cord from the window, and saved him; and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver, and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to the officers that he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David lay there and breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought just as he was, for he intended to kill him. And when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented a plausible defence for herself, and said, that David threatened to kill her, and she lent him her assistance to save him out of fear; for which she ought to be forgiven, because it was not of her own free choice, but from necessity. "For" (she added) "I do not suppose that you were as zealous to kill your enemy, as that I should be saved alive." So Saul forgave the damsel, and David, when he had escaped this danger, went to the prophet Samuel to Ramah,

and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very nearly killed by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty in his dealings with him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all by God's assistance: which was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

§ 5. When the prophet heard of the unjust dealing of the king, he left the city of Ramah,[1] and took David with him, to a certain place called Galbaath,[2] and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to arrest David, and bring him to him: but when they came to Samuel, and found there a company of prophets, they became partakers of the divine Spirit, and began to prophesy. And when Saul heard of this, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others, which third company prophesying also, he was at last angry, and went there in great haste himself; and when he was near the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was troubled in mind and agitated, and stripped off his garments, and fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

§ 6. And David went thence to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and complained to him of the snares that were laid for him by his father, and said that though he had been guilty of no evil, and had not offended against him, yet he was very anxious to get him killed. Then Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to attend to him and take courage, for his father had no such intention against him, for he would have acquainted him with the matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in

[1] See note 1, p. 354.

[2] In 1 Sam. xix. 19, the place is called Naioth in Ramah. It is evident that Naioth, or Galbaath, was not actually in Ramah, though close to it. Naioth, the 'house of instruction,' was probably the 'school of the prophets' in which Samuel taught.

all other affairs. But David swore to him that it was so, and asked him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to disbelieve the actual truth, but he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed, or hear of his being killed. He said also that the reason why his father did not tell Jonathan of all this was that he knew of the friendship and affection that he had to him.

§ 7. Then Jonathan, being sad that this intention of Saul's was so clearly proved, asked him, "What he would have him do for him." To which David replied, "I know that you are willing to gratify me in everything, and to do whatever I desire. Now to-morrow is the new moon, and I am accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper. Now, if it seem good to you, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately in the plain; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep the festival with my own tribe, and add also that you gave me leave to do so. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of absent friends, "He did well to go," then be sure that no latent mischief or enmity is to be feared at his hands; but if he answer otherwise, it will be a sure sign that he has some design against me. So you shall inform me of your father's state of mind, out of pity to my case and friendship for me, of which friendship we have mutually taken and given pledges, though you are master, I servant. But if you find any wickedness in me, anticipate your father by killing me yourself."

§ 8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what David asked of him, and to inform him if his father's answer implied any savage intention or enmity against him. And that he might the more depend upon him, he took him out into the open, into the pure air, and swore that he would neglect nothing that would be for the safety of David, and said, "I appeal to that God, who, as you see, is everywhere, and knows this intention of mine before I put it into words, to witness my covenant with you, that I will not leave off making frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any mischief brewing in the secret parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not

conceal it from you, but will discover to you whether he be favourably or evilly disposed to you. For God knows that I pray he may always be with you, for he is with you now, and will not forsake you, and will make you superior to your enemies, whether my father be one of them, or I myself. Do you only remember this, and if I die, preserve my children alive, and requite the kindness you have now received to them." When he had thus sworn he dismissed David, and bade him go to a certain place in the plain where he used to take exercise, for as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come there to him with one servant only: and "if (added he) I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant carry those three darts away, for they are before him, know that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if you hear me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king. Anyhow you shall gain security through me, and shall suffer no harm, but do not forget me in the time of your prosperity, but befriend my children." And David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

§ 9. On the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself as the custom was, went to supper, and there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, and he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had companied with his wife, and so was too late. But when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month either, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse had not come to the supper and the feast either the day before or that day. Then Jonathan said, according to the agreement between them, that he was gone to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: and that he had also invited him to go to their sacrifice: and Jonathan added, "If you will give me leave, I will go thither, for you know my good-will to him." Then it was that Jonathan perceived his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition to him, for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of runagates and an enemy, and

said that he was a partner with David and his ally, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to him or his mother, and would not be persuaded of the fact, that while David was alive, the kingdom was not secure to them. Furthermore he bade him send for David, that he might be punished. And when Jonathan said in answer, "What has he done, that you will punish him for?" Saul no longer contented himself with showing his anger in mere words and abuse, but snatched up his spear, and rushed at Jonathan, wishing to kill him. He did not, indeed, do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends, but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

§ 10. Then the king's son rose hastily from supper: and not being able to eat anything for grief, he wept all that night, not only because he himself had been near destruction, but because the death of David was determined on. But as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as if going to take exercise, but in reality to inform his friend of the disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed to do. And when Jonathan had done all that had been agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert to meet David and commune with him. And he appeared and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his life; but Jonathan lifted him up from the ground, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented the loss of their companionship and intimacy which envy would now deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. At last, recovering with difficulty from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted.

CHAP. XII.

How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterwards to the Kings of the Philistines and Moabites, and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his Family.

§ 1.

BUT David fled from the king, and death at his hands, and went to the city of Nob[1] to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming alone, and neither friend nor servant with him, wondered at it, and wished to know the reason why there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, for which he had no occasion for anyone to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at this place." And he asked him to let him have something to eat; and in case he supplied him, he would act the part of a friend, and assist him in his projects; and when he had obtained this, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, who kept the king's mules. The high priest said that he had no such weapons, but he added that there was the sword of Goliath, which, when David had slain the Philistine, he had himself dedicated to God.

§ 2. And David took that sword, and fled from the country of the Hebrews to Gath which belonged to the Philistines, where Achish reigned. And the king's servants recognized him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many ten thousands of the Philistines. So David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him for which he had fled from Saul; he therefore pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did other like actions before the king of Gath,

[1] Nothing remains to indicate the site of Nob. It was within sight of Jerusalem, and possibly near *Sh'afât*, on the road from the north.

which might make him believe that they proceeded from madness. And the king was very angry with his servants for bringing him a madman; and he gave orders that they should immediately turn David out of the city.

§ 3. When David had got safe out of Gath in this manner, he went to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave near the city of Adullam.[1] And he sent to his brothers and informed them where he was. And they came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want, or in fear of king Saul, repaired to him, and told him they were ready to obey his orders. They were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him, so he removed thence and went to the king of the Moabites, and begged him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs was in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favour, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

§ 4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and go into the portion of the tribe of Judah and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city of Hareth,[2] which belonged to that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble, for as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that something extraordinary would soon be done by him, which would make him mourn, and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends and commanders, and the tribe from which he himself sprung, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Arura,[3] his courtiers and body-guards being with him, he spoke thus to them: "Men of my own tribe, I know that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you,

[1] Now *Khurbet 'Aid el-Mâ*, about eight miles north-east of *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis.

[2] The name Hareth appears to be preserved in *Kharâs*, a village in the mountains of Hebron, between *'Aîd el-Mâ*, Adullam, and *Halhûl*, Halhul.

[3] Josephus here follows the Septuagint. The Authorised Version has, "Saul abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah" (1 Sam. xxii. 6).

how I have made some of you owners of land, and bestowed posts of honour upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers. I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? For I know that you are all inclined to him, even my son Jonathan himself is of his party, and persuades you to be of the same. For I am not ignorant of the oaths and covenants between him and David, or that Jonathan is a counsellor and an assistant to those that conspire against me; and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence, and wait to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had finished his speech, none of the rest of those that were present made any answer, but Doeg the Syrian, who fed the king's mules, said that he saw David when he went to the city of Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he had learned future events by his prophesying, and had received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and had been conducted by him in safety to those whom he desired to go to.

§ 5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred, and said: "What cruelty or ingratitude have you suffered from me, that you received the son of Jesse, and bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was plotting against my kingdom? And furthermore, why did you deliver oracles to him concerning the future? For you could not be ignorant that he had fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not attempt to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David but Saul himself, and said, "I did not know he was your enemy, but a very faithful servant of yours, and captain over a thousand of your soldiers, and, what is more than these, your son-in-law and connexion. Men do not usually confer such favours on their enemies, but on those who are thought to bear the highest good-will and regard to them. Nor is this the first time that I have prophesied for him, but I have done so often, at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by you in great haste on a private errand, if I had not furnished him with what he asked for, I should

have thought that I was rather rejecting your suit than his. Wherefore, do not entertain any ill opinion of me, nor be suspicious of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told you of David's attempt against you, for I regarded him as your friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as your enemy.

§ 6. The high priest's words did not persuade Saul; his fear was so great, that he could not give credit to a true apology. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill Ahimelech and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. And he took to his assistance wicked men like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob,[1] the city of the priests, and slew all that were therein, sparing neither women nor children, nor any age, and burnt it; only one son of Ahimelech escaped, whose name was Abiathar. Now these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed on account of the transgressions of his two sons.

§ 7. Now king Saul,[2] by perpetrating so barbarous a

[1] This city of Nob was not a city allotted to the priests, nor had the prophets, that we know of, any particular cities allotted to them. It seems the tabernacle was now at Nob, and probably a school of the prophets was here also. It was full two days' journey on foot from Jerusalem, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. The number of priests here slain in Josephus is 385, and but 85 in our Hebrew copies, but they are 305 in the Septuagint: I prefer Josephus's number, the Hebrew having, I suppose, only dropped the hundreds, the other the tens. This city of Nob seems to have been the chief, or perhaps the only seat of the family of Ithamar, which here perished according to God's former terrible threatenings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27-36, iii. 11-18. See 14, § 9, hereafter.—W.

[2] This section contains an admirable reflection of Josephus concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condition. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such elevated dignities among mankind. See the like reflections of our Josephus, Antiq. vii. 1, § 5, at the end, and viii. 10, § 2, at the beginning. They are to the like purport with one branch of Agur's

crime and murdering the whole family of the high priest, and having no pity on infants nor reverence for the aged, and overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the dwelling-place and support of the priests and prophets there, and had allotted as the only city for the rearing of such men, makes everyone understand and see the disposition of men, how while they are private persons and in low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, or to dare to do what they wish, they are equitable and moderate, and follow only what is right, and bend their whole minds and labours to that. They then believe that God is present in all the circumstances of their lives, and that he not only sees the actions that are done, but clearly knows the thoughts also, whence those actions are sure to arise. But when once men are advanced to power and authority, they then put off all such notions, and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, lay aside their former characters and manners, and assume boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and divine laws, and that at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think and all they say are in the view of all men; then it is that they become as insolent in their actions, as if God saw them no longer, or was afraid of them because of their power. And whatever they are either afraid of from what they have heard, or hate from inclination, or love without reason, these ideas seem to them to be settled, and sure, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God. And as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it, but they raise those to honour who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after raising them to honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, such as, on account of their extravagance, are incredible. They also punish men for actions that do not deserve punishment, because of

prayer, "One thing have I required of thee, deny me not before I die; give me not riches, lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord?" Prov. xxx. 7, 8, 9.—W.

calumnies and accusations not examined into, and not only punish such as deserve to be punished, but as many as they are able to kill. This is made clear to us by the conduct of Saul, the son of Kish (the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under judges), in his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets from suspicion of Ahimelech, and moreover by the overthrow of their city, as if he were anxious in some sort to render the temple destitute both of priests and prophets, by slaying so many of them, and by not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that others might succeed them.

§ 8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could escape out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen his family, and of the slaughter of his father. And he thereupon said, that he was not ignorant of what would happen to them when he saw Doeg there, for he had a suspicion then that the high priest would be calumniated by him to the king, and he blamed Doeg as the cause of this misfortune. He also desired Abiathar to stay there and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than anywhere else.

CHAP. XIII.

How David, when he had twice the Opportunity of killing Saul, did not kill him. Also, concerning the Deaths of Samuel and Nabal.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time David heard that the Philistines had made an inroad into the region about Keilah,[1] and laid it waste, and he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and made a great

[1] Now *Khurbet Kîla*, in the Hebron district, six miles west of Halhul.

slaughter of them, and carried off much spoils, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. And it was told king Saul that David was with the men of Keilah; for what he had done and his great success did not confine itself to Keilah, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of everybody, and both the exploit and its hero came to the king's ears. And Saul was glad when he heard that David was in Keilah; and he said, "God has now put him into my hands, since he has obliged him to come into a city that has walls, and gates, and bars." And he commanded all the people to march upon Keilah, and when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David knew of this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there, the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men, and retired from that city into the desert above a place called Engedi.[1] And when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

§ 2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph,[2] where Jonathan the son of Saul met him and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his future condition, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but that such things usually come with great labour and pains. He also swore that he would continue all his life long in good-will and fidelity to him, and he called God to witness the curses he invoked on himself, if he should violate his covenant, and change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having made his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and said if he would come to them they would deliver him up, for if the king occupied the narrow passes of Ziph, David

[1] Now *'Ain Jidy*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea.

[2] Now *Tell ez-Zif*, south of Hebron; in 1 Sam. xxiii. 16, the place of meeting with Jonathan is said to have been a wood in the Wilderness of Ziph, which lay to the east of the town.

could not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he was obliged to them, because they had given him information of his enemy, and he promised them that it should not be long before he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness, and he said that he himself would follow them. So they were the king's guides to hunt and catch David, being anxious not only to show their good-will to Saul by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But they failed in their unjust and wicked desire, for, while they underwent no danger by not revealing this to Saul, they did yet calumniate and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, who was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and who might otherwise have lain concealed, and that out of flattery, and desire of gain, and expectations from the king. For when David learnt of the malignant intention of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the narrow passes in that neighbourhood, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.[1]

§ 3. And Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for as he was on the march he learnt that David was gone away from the narrow passes of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul into another direction from the pursuit of David, when he was just about to be caught. For the king returned back to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, judging it more necessary to avenge himself on them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravaging of the land.

§ 4. And so David unexpectedly escaped from the danger he was in, and came to the passes of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers who told him that David was in the neighbourhood of Engedi: so he took three thousand

[1] The rough country to the east of Maon, now *Khurbet M'aîn*, south of Ziph.

chosen men that were armed, and hasted after him, and when he was not far from the spot, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way side, which was very spacious both in length and breadth, and there David, with his four hundred men, lay concealed. As therefore Saul had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, who told David that he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself on his adversary, and advised him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself from his tedious wandering condition and its distresses, David rose up, and only cut off the skirt of the garment which Saul had on. But soon he repented of what he had done, and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom. "For even if he is wickedly disposed towards me, yet it does not behove me to be so disposed towards him." And when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him. Whereupon the king turned round, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed down to him, and said, "O king, you ought not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions. For calumny deludes men, but people's actions are a clear demonstration of their good-will. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By my deeds, therefore, it will be well for you to believe me as to my regard to you and to your house, and not to believe those that accuse me of things that never came into my mind, and are impossible to be done, and to cease pursuing after my life, and having no concern either day or night but how to murder me, which you now unjustly strive after. For how comes it that you have formed this false opinion about me that I desire to kill you? Or how are you not impious to God in wishing to kill, and deeming as your adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself and to punish you, but would not do it,

nor make use of such an opportunity, though, if it had fallen out to you against me, you would not have let it slip; for when I cut off the skirt of your garment, I could as easily have cut off your head?" Then he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby proved to him that what he said was true; and he added, "I, indeed, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon you, yet you are not ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God judge between us, and test each of our dispositions." But Saul was amazed at his unexpected deliverance, and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man, he groaned aloud, and when David had done the same, the king answered that he had the most cause to groan, "for," said he, "you have been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of evil to you. And you have shown this day that you possess the old-fashioned justice of those who ordered people to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for you, and that you will have the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath that you will not root out my family, nor destroy my posterity, in remembrance of the evil I have done you, but save and preserve my house." And David swore as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom, but he, and those that were with him, went up to the passes of Mastheroth.[1]

§ 5. About this time Samuel the prophet died, a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree; for the long mourning which the people made for him manifested his virtue and the affection which the people had to him, as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and the celebration of the customary rites. They buried him in his own city of Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not sorrowing as for the death of a stranger, but as for one who was a relation. He was a righteous man, and good in his nature, and therefore was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone twelve years after the death of Eli the high priest, and eighteen years

[1] From 1 Sam. xxiii. 29, and xxiv. 1, 2; these are evidently near En-gedi.

together with Saul the king: and thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

§ 6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon,[1] who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and a thousand goats. Now David had charged his men to see that these flocks were without hurt or damage, and to do them no mischief, either from covetousness, or because they were in want, or because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be caught, but to value wronging nobody above everything, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that he had a good man to deal with, and one that deserved to have such care taken of him. But this Nabal, for that was his name, was a harsh man and of bad manners, being like a cynic in his behaviour, but had obtained for his wife a good woman, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, then, David sent ten of his men at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them greeted him, and expressed a wish for his prosperity for many years to come, and asked him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he would learn from his shepherds, that he and his men had done them and their flocks no injury, but had been their guardians a long time while they continued in the wilderness; and he should never repent of giving anything to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them in a very uncourteous and rough manner, for he asked them, who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, he said, "Nowadays runagates grow insolent and haughty, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff (for he had by now six hundred),[2] and went against Nabal; he

[1] Now *Khurbet M'ain*, south of Hebron.

[2] The number of men that came first to David, are distinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but 400. When he was at Keilah, still but 400, both in Josephus and in the LXX.; but 600 in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxx. 9, 10. Now the 600 there mentioned are here intimated by Josephus to have been so many, only by

also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the house and all the possessions of Nabal. For he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to him and his men, without making any return for the great kindness they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used bad language to them, though he had received no injury from them.

§ 7. Then one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal told his mistress, Nabal's wife, that when David sent to her husband, he had received no civil answer from him at all, but had been insulted in very reproachful language, though David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and added that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master. When the servant had told her this, Abigail, for that was the wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents, and without telling her husband anything of what she was about (for he was insensible from drunkenness), she went to David, who met her as she was descending a mountain pass, and was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw him, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground, and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name (for Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies folly). And she excused herself as not having seen the messengers whom he sent. "Forgive me, therefore (said she), and thank God who has hindered you from shedding human blood; for as long as you keep yourself innocent, he will avenge you on wicked men. As for the miseries that await Nabal, may they fall upon the heads of your enemies! But be gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept these presents from me, and remit out of regard to me the wrath and anger which you have against my husband and his house; for mildness and humanity become you, especially as you are to be our king." And David accepted her presents, and said, "Certainly, lady, it was God's mercy that brought you to me to-day, for else you would not have seen another day, as I swore to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and

an augmentation of 200 afterwards, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.—W.

to leave alive not one of you, since you belonged to a man so wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions. But as it is you have arrested my intention, and mollified my anger, being yourself under the care of God, and as for Nabal, although for your sake he shall now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice, for his evil conduct on some other occasion will be his ruin."

§ 8. When David had said this, he dismissed Abigail. And when she returned home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and already stupefied with wine, she said nothing then to him about what had happened, but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body paralysed and like that of a dead man by her words, and by the grief which arose from them. And Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that God had well avenged him on him, for Nabal had died of his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, though he had kept his own hands clean. At that time David recognized that the wicked are punished by God, who does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is good, and inflicts speedy punishment on the wicked. And he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to live with him, and to be his wife. And she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet, however, she came with all her handmaids, and became his wife, having received that honour on account of her wise and just character, and partly also on account of her beauty. Now David had taken another wife before, whom he married from the city of Abisar;[1] for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.[2]

§ 9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country; and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. And Saul marched against David with three thousand

[1] In 1 Sam. xxv. 43, Ahinoam is said to have been of Jezreel, a town of Judah, mentioned in Josh. xv. 56, between Juttah and Jokdeam, not yet identified.

[2] Possibly *Beit Jâla*, near Bethlehem.

armed men, and pitched his camp, upon the approach of night, at a certain place called Hachilah.[1] And when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bade them let him know to what part of the country Saul had already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he secretly passed the night apart from his men, and went to Saul's camp, taking with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and his armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle, and David entered into the king's tent, but did neither himself kill Saul, though he knew where he lay from the spear stuck in the ground at his head, nor did he allow Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon doing so: for he said it was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, even though he was a wicked man, for he who gave him the dominion, would in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might be clear that it was in his power to have killed him though he refrained from it, he took the spear and the cruse of water which were by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep, and went safely away, having performed everything among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. And when he had passed over a brook, and had got up to the top of a hill, from which he might be easily heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awoke them out of their sleep, and shouted both to him and the people. And when the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him, David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, your fugitive. But why ever do you, who are so great a man, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of your master's body? Is sleep of more consequence to you than his preservation, and the due care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death or condign punishment, since none of you perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, as far as the king himself and all the rest of you. If

[1] Apparently the ridge *el-Kolah*, in the wilderness east of *Tell ez-Zif*, Ziph.

you look for the king's spear and cruse of water, you will learn how great a misfortune might have come upon you in your very camp without your knowing of it." Now, when Saul recognized David's voice, and learned that, though he had him in his power when he was asleep, and his guards took little care of him, he yet did not kill him, but spared him when he might justly have cut him off, he said that he owed him thanks for his preservation, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of any harm from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was beloved by him, though he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him, and had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great anxiety for his life, being bereft of his friends and kindred. And yet he had saved the king's life several times, and spared it when it was evidently in great danger. Then David bade them send for the spear and cruse of water, and take them back, adding that God would judge them both according to their nature and the actions that flowed from the same. "For he knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed you, I abstained from doing so."

§ 10. Saul, having thus escaped the hands of David twice, went his way to his royal palace and his own city, but David was afraid, that if he stayed there he would be arrested by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly he went with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of the five Philistine cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to dwell in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath.[1] And when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him or going after him, because he had been twice nearly undone by him, when he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but asked the king, as he had received him with such kindness, that he would grant

[1] *Tell es-Sâfi.*

him another favour, and bestow upon him some place in that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed to be grievous and burdensome to him by living in Gath. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag,[1] which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned as their own. But about that I shall say more elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And he privately attacked those Geshurites[2] and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much spoil of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but he abstained from capturing any men, fearing they would discover him to king Achish, but he sent part of the spoil to him as a gift. And when the king inquired whom he had attacked when he brought off the spoil, he said, those Jews that lay to the south, and inhabited the plain. So he got Achish to believe him, who now hoped that David hated his own nation, and that he would now have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

CHAP. XIV.

How Saul, on God's not answering him concerning the Fight with the Philistines, asked the Witch of Endor to bring up the Soul of Samuel to him; and how Saul died with his Sons on the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle.

§ 1.

ABOUT the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent round to all their allies asking them to go along with them to the war to Reggan [near the city of Shunem[3]], where they might concentrate, and rush at the Hebrews. And Achish, the king of

[1] Possibly *'Aslûj*, south of Beersheba.

[2] An ancient tribe dwelling in the desert south of Philistia, see Josh. xiii. 2.

[3] Now *Sôlam*, north of *Zerîn*, Jezreel. Reggan is not mentioned in the Bible, and the site is not known.

Gath, asked David to assist him with his own armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised, and said that the time was now come that he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality, and the king promised to make him the captain of his body-guard after the victory, if the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind, which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

§ 2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had banished out of the country all wizards and witches, and all such as practised the like arts, except the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already at hand, and had pitched their camp near the city of Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa,[1] he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And as God did not answer him, Saul was in still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreboding, as was but likely, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him. And he bade his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a witch, and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know if affairs would succeed to his mind. For this sort of witches, that bring up the souls of the dead, foretell by them future events to those who ask them. And one of his servants having told him, that there was such a woman in the city of Endor,[2] without the knowledge of anybody in the camp, he put off his royal apparel, and took two of his servants with him whom he knew to be most faithful, and went to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a wizard, and to bring up to him whatever soul he should name to her. And when the woman objected, and said she could not despise the king, who had banished this sort of wizards, and that he did not do well, as she had

[1] The name Gilboa survives in *Jelbôn*, a village on the range of hills, Mount Gilboa, east of the great plain of Esdraelon.

[2] Now *Endûr*, south of *Jebel et-Tôr*, Mount Tabor.

done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to get her punished, he swore that nobody should know what she did, and he would not tell anyone of her divination, and that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bade her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him up out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw a venerable and god-like man, she was afraid and astonished at the sight, and said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel informed her who he was. When he owned that to be true, and asked her whence her fear arose? she said, that she saw a certain person come up, who in his appearance was like a god. And when he bade her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was? she told him, he was an old man, and a glorious person, and had on a sacerdotal mantle. And the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel, and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted him, and prostrated himself before him. And when the soul of Samuel asked Saul why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up? he lamented the necessity he was in, for he said that his enemies pressed heavily upon him, and that he knew not what to do in his present circumstances, that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming either by prophets or dreams; and that these were the reasons why he had recourse to him, for he would take care of him. But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is idle for you to desire to learn of me anything further, as God has forsaken you. However, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success, and you are to lose your throne and life, because you did not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and did not keep his commandments, as I foretold you while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that you and your sons shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and you shall be with me."

§ 3. When Saul heard this, he was speechless for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether from the sorrow that

arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day or night. And when he had with difficulty recovered himself, the woman tried to force him to eat, begging it of him as a favour on account of her dangerous exhibition of magic, which was unlawful, because of fear of the king, though she knew not who he was, yet had she undertaken it, and gone through with it. So she entreated him to allow a table and food to be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and get safe to his own camp. And when he resisted her wish, and absolutely refused in his dejection, she urged him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had a calf that she was very fond of, and that she took a great deal of care of, and fed herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her hands, and had no other possession but this one calf; this she killed, and cooked its flesh, and set it before the king and his servants. And Saul returned to the camp while it was yet night.

§ 4. Now it is but right to commend the generosity of this woman, because though the king had forbidden her to use that art by which her circumstances were bettered and improved, and though she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her calling, and did not reject him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with, but had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only thing she had, being a poor woman, and that earnestly and with great humanity, though she had no requital made to her for her kindness, nor had in view any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas people are naturally ambitious to please those that have bestowed some benefit upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It is well therefore to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindnesses to all such as are in need, and to think that nothing is better, or more becoming mankind than this, or will sooner make God favourable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to say concerning this woman. But I shall speak now upon another subject, which will

afford me an opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and peoples, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory and everlasting fame, and of inspiring in the kings of nations and rulers of cities great inclination and desire to do well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible things. And I have a good reason for such a discourse in the person of Saul, king of the Hebrews. For, although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he determined not to flee from death, nor from love of life to betray his own people to the enemy, nor to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity, but exposing himself as well as all his family and children to dangers, he thought it a noble thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better that his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave it uncertain what they would be afterwards, for instead of succession and posterity they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, courageous, and sensible man, and whoever has arrived at this state of mind, or shall hereafter arrive at it, is the man that ought to be honoured by all with a testimony for virtue. For as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and likely to return home safe, when they have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess they justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversity, who imitate Saul. For as for those who do not know what the event of war will be to themselves, though they do not play the coward in it, but deliver themselves up to an uncertain future and its chances, this is not so great a proof of nobility of mind, although they may happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo death in

battle also, after this neither to be afraid nor dismayed at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go to meet it, when they know it beforehand, this I judge a proof that a man is truly courageous. And this Saul did, and so proved that all men who desire fame after they are dead are so to act to obtain the same, and especially kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but should be more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording sufficient matter, but that I may not appear to launch out improperly in his commendation, I return again to my narrative from which I made this digression.

§ 5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and reviewed their forces according to their nations and kingdoms and provinces, king Achish came last of all with his own army, and after him came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king, whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, that it was David, who had fled from his master Saul, whom he had entertained when he came to him, and who now therefore wished to make him a requital for his favour, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become their confederate. The commanders complained of his having taken for a confederate one who was an enemy, and advised sending him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief, for he had an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing mischief to their army. They therefore urged Achish, foreboding this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation, for he was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spoke well, so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that you have shown great zeal and kindness to me, and that was why I took you for my confederate, however, what I have done does not please the commanders. Go therefore within a day's time to the

place I have given you, without suspecting any harm, and there guard my country, lest any of our enemies should make a raid upon it, this shall be your portion of assistance." So David went to Ziklag,[1] as the king of Gath bade him: but it so happened, while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, that the Amalekites had made a raid, and taken Ziklag by storm and burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of various spoil from that place, and from the rest of the Philistines' country, they departed.

§ 6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that everything was plundered, and that his two wives, as well as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he at once rent his clothes, wailing and lamenting with his friends, and indeed he was so cast down with this misfortune, that even tears failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid all the blame of what had happened upon him. But when he had recovered from his grief, and raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and prophesy to him, "Whether God would grant, if he pursued after the Amalekites, that he should overtake them, and rescue the wives and children, and avenge himself on the enemies." And when the high priest bade him pursue after them, he marched apace, with his six hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor,[2] and lit upon a man wandering about, an Egyptian by race, who was almost dead with want and famine (for he had continued wandering about in the wilderness without food three days), he first of all gave him both meat and drink and so refreshed him, and then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Then the man told him he was an Egyptian by race, and had been left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him that he was one of those that

[1] Possibly *'Aslûj*.

[2] Dr. Robinson identifies the brook Besor, which lay to the south of Ziklag, with *Wâdy 'Ar'ârah*, the south-western branch of *Wâdy es-Seb'a*.

had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judæa, but Ziklag itself also. So David make use of him as a guide to the Amalekites, and when he had come up with them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered and entirely unnerved with wine, and in the fruition of their spoil and prey, he suddenly fell upon them and made a great slaughter of them, for they were unarmed, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily killed. Some of them were surprised as they reclined at table, and were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their food. Others of them they slew as they were pledging one another in their cups, and some whom their debauch had sent fast to sleep; and as for those who had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword with no less ease than they did those that were unarmed. And David and his men continued the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting on swift camels. And David recovered not only all the spoil which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. And when they had returned to the place where they had left the two hundred men who were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred did not think fit to divide among them any of what they had got, or of the spoil, since they did not accompany them, but were slack in the pursuit of the enemy, and they said they should be content with having got back their wives safe. But David pronounced this view of theirs as wrong and unjust, and said that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to them, they should make an equal distribution of what they had got to all who shared in the expedition, because the rest had tarried behind only to guard the stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff should receive an equal share with those that fought in a battle. And when David had returned to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoil to all his acquain-

tances and friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affair of the plundering of Ziklag in the slaughter of the Amalekites.

§ 7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle with Saul, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies, but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost zeal, knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy (for they had nothing else to hope for), so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were surrounded and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Melchishua; and when they fell, the rank and file of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion and slaughter, as the Philistines pressed hard upon them. And Saul himself fled, accompanied by a strong body of soldiers, but on the Philistines sending after him some javelinmen and bowmen, he lost all this force except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to hold out or resist any longer, and was too weak to kill himself, he bade his armour-bearer draw his sword and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But as his armour-bearer did not dare to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself opposite its point, threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it make it pass through him, he turned round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was, and when he heard that he was an Amalekite, he besought him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and so to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly, and stripped off the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and the royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's body-guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa.

And when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond the Jordan, and those that had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that their whole army was destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were best fortified and most secure, and the Philistines, finding those cities deserted, went and dwelt in them.

§ 8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they found the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads, and sent messengers all over the country to acquaint them that their enemies had fallen. And they hung up their armour as a votive offering in the temple of Astarte,[1] but put their bodies on crosses near the walls of the city of Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis.[2] But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead[3] heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and bold among them (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in mind and body) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached the enemy's walls, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, carried them to Jabesh, the enemy not being able or bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. And the people of Jabesh had a public mourning, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was called Arura;[4] and mourned for them seven days with their wives and children, beating their breasts and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink.

§ 9. To this sad end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and because he slew the

[1] According to 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 'the house of Ashtaroth;' it was probably at Ashteroth Carnaim, now *Tell 'Asherah*, on the south side of the river *Yarmuk*.

[2] Now *Beisân*.

[3] See note 2, p. 361.

[4] Compare Ant. vi. 12, § 4. In 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, the place of burial is said to have been 'under a tree' or 'under the tamarisk' at Jabesh.

family of Ahimelech the high priest, and Ahimelech himself, and destroyed the city of the high priests. Now Saul reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty,] and ended his life as I have recorded.

END OF VOLUME I.

CHISWICK PRESS:—C. WHITTINGHAM AND CO., TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

CATALOGUE OF

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

718 *Volumes*, £158 7*s*.

N.B.—It is requested that all orders be accompanied by payment. Books are sent carriage free on the receipt of the published price in stamps or otherwise.

The Works to which the letters 'N. S.' (denoting New Style) are appended are kept in neat cloth bindings of various colours, as well as in the regular Library style. All Orders are executed in the New binding, unless the contrary is expressly stated.

Complete Sets or Separate Volumes can be had at short notice, half-bound in calf or morocco.

New Volumes of Standard Works in the various branches of Literature are constantly being added to this Series, which is already unsurpassed in respect to the number, variety, and cheapness of the Works contained in it. The Publishers have to announce the following Volumes as recently issued or now in preparation:—

Plutarch's Morals. Vol. II. Ethical Essays. By Rev. A. R. Shilleto. [*Ready.*

Marryat's Peter Simple. Illustrated. [*Ready.*

Marryat's Midshipman Easy. Illustrated. [*Ready.*

Dunlop's History of Fiction. With Introduction and Supplement, bringing the Work down to recent times. By Henry Wilson. [*Ready, see p.* 4.

Heaton's Concise History of Painting. By W. Cosmo Monkhouse. [*Ready.*

Schopenhauer's The Fourfold Root and The Will in Nature. [*Ready.*

Seneca's Minor Works. Translated by Aubrey Stewart, M.A. [*In the press.*

Josephus's Works. 5 Vols. Edited by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto. [*In the press.*

Johnson's Lives of the Poets. [*In the press.*

ARTHUR YOUNG'S TRAVELS IN FRANCE. Edited by Miss Betham Edwards.

Hoffmann's Tales. Vol. II. By Lieut. Col. Alex Ewing. [*In the press.*

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

STANDARD LIBRARY.

322 Vols. at 3s. 6d. each, excepting those marked otherwise. (57*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*)

ADDISON'S Works. Notes of Bishop Hurd. Short Memoir, Portrait, and 8 Plates of Medals. 6 vols. *N. S.*
This is the most complete edition of Addison's Works issued.

ALFIERI'S Tragedies. In English Verse. With Notes, Arguments, and Introduction, by E. A. Bowring, C.B. 2 vols. *N. S.*

AMERICAN POETRY. — *See Poetry of America.*

BACON'S Moral and Historical Works, including Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Henry Prince of Wales, History of Great Britain, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus Cæsar. With Critical and Biographical Introduction and Notes by J. Devey, M.A. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— *See also Philosophical Library.*

BALLADS AND SONGS of the Peasantry of England, from Oral Recitation, private MSS., Broadsides, &c. Edit. by R. Bell. *N. S.*

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER. Selections. With Notes and Introduction by Leigh Hunt.

BECKMANN (J.) History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. With Portraits of Beckmann and James Watt. 2 vols. *N. S.*

BELL (Robert).—*See Ballads, Chaucer, Green.*

BOSWELL'S Life of Johnson, with the TOUR in the HEBRIDES and JOHNSONIANA. New Edition, with Notes and Appendices, by the Rev. A. Napier, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Holkham, Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the 'Theological Works of Barrow.' With Frontispiece to each vol. 6 vols. *N.S.*

BREMER'S (Frederika) Works. Trans. by M. Howitt. Portrait. 4 vols. *N.S.*

BRINK (B. T.) Early English Literature (to Wiclif). By Bernhard Ten Brink. Trans. by Prof. H. M. Kennedy. *N. S.*

BRITISH POETS, from Milton to Kirke White. Cabinet Edition. With Frontispiece. 4 vols. *N. S.*

BROWNE'S (Sir Thomas) Works. Edit. by S. Wilkin, with Dr. Johnson's Life of Browne. Portrait. 3 vols.

BURKE'S Works. 6 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Speeches on the Impeachment** of Warren Hastings; and Letters. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life.** By J. Prior. Portrait. *N. S.*

BURNS (Robert). Life of. By J. G. Lockhart, D.C.L. A new and enlarged edition. With Notes and Appendices by W. S. Douglas. Portrait. *N. S.*

BUTLER'S (Bp.) Analogy of Religion; Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; with Two Dissertations on Identity and Virtue, and Fifteen Sermons. With Introductions, Notes, and Memoir. Portrait. *N. S.*

CAMÖEN'S Lusiad, or the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Trans. from the Portuguese, with Dissertation, Historical Sketch, and Life, by W. J. Mickle. 5th edition. *N. S.*

CARAFAS (The) of Maddaloni. Naples under Spanish Dominion. Trans. by Alfred de Reumont. Portrait of Massaniello.

CARREL. The Counter-Revolution in England for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II., by Armand Carrel; with Fox's History of James II. and Lord Lonsdale's Memoir of James II. Portrait of Carrel.

CARRUTHERS. — *See Pope, in Illustrated Library.*

CARY'S Dante. The Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. Trans. by Rev. H. F. Cary, M.A. With Life. Chronological View of his Age, Notes, and Index of Proper Names. Portrait. *N. S.*

This is the authentic edition, containing Mr. Cary's last corrections, with additional notes.

CELLINI (Benvenuto). Memoirs of, by himself. With Notes of G. P. Carpani. Trans. by T. Roscoe. Portrait. *N. S.*

CERVANTES' Galatea. A Pastoral Romance. Trans. by G. W. J. Gyll. *N. S.*

—— **Exemplary Novels.** Trans. by W. K. Kelly. *N. S.*

—— **Don Quixote de la Mancha.** Motteux's Translation revised. With Lockhart's Life and Notes. 2 vols. *N. S.*

CHAUCER'S Poetical Works. With Poems formerly attributed to him. With a Memoir, Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by R. Bell. Improved edition, with Preliminary Essay by Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. Portrait. 4 vols. *N. S.*

CLASSIC TALES, containing Rasselas, Vicar of Wakefield, Gulliver's Travels, and The Sentimental Journey. *N. S.*

COLERIDGE'S (S. T.) Friend. A Series of Essays on Morals, Politics, and Religion. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **Aids to Reflection. Confessions** of an Inquiring Spirit; and Essays on Faith and the Common Prayer-book. New Edition, revised. *N. S.*

—— **Table-Talk and Omniana.** By T. Ashe, B.A. *N.S.*

—— **Lectures on Shakspere and** other Poets. Edit. by T. Ashe, B.A. *N.S.*

Containing the lectures taken down in 1811-12 by J. P. Collier, and those delivered at Bristol in 1813.

—— **Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical** Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions; with Two Lay Sermons. *N. S.*

—— **Miscellanies, Æsthetic and** Literary; to which is added, THE THEORY OF LIFE Collected and arranged by T. Ashe, B.A. *N. S.*

COMMINES.—*See Philip.*

CONDÉ'S History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Trans. by Mrs. Foster. Portrait of Abderahmen ben Moavia. 3 vols.

COWPER'S Complete Works, Poems, Correspondence, and Translations. Edit. with Memoir by R. Southey. 45 Engravings. 8 vols.

COXE'S Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. With his original Correspondence, from family records at Blenheim. Revised edition. Portraits. 3 vols.

*** An Atlas of the plans of Marlborough's campaigns, 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

—— **History of the House of Austria.** From the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the Death of Leopold II., 1218-1792. By Archdn. Coxe. With Continuation from the Accession of Francis I. to the Revolution of 1848. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

CUNNINGHAM'S Lives of the most Eminent British Painters. With Notes and 16 fresh Lives by Mrs. Heaton. 3 vols. *N. S.*

DEFOE'S Novels and Miscellaneous Works. With Prefaces and Notes, including those attributed to Sir W. Scott. Portrait. 7 vols. *N. S.*

DE LOLME'S Constitution of England, in which it is compared both with the Republican form of Government and the other Monarchies of Europe. Edit., with Life and Notes, by J. Macgregor, M.P.

DUNLOP'S History of Fiction. With Introduction and Supplement adapting the work to present requirements. By Henry Wilson. 2 vols., 5*s.* each.

EMERSON'S Works. 3 vols. Most complete edition published. *N. S.*

Vol. I.—Essays, Lectures, and Poems.

Vol. II.—English Traits, Nature, and Conduct of Life.

Vol. III.—Society and Solitude—Letters and Social Aims—Miscellaneous Papers (hitherto uncollected)—May-Day, &c.

FOSTER'S (John) Life and Correspondence. Edit. by J. E. Ryland. Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Lectures at Broadmead Chapel.** Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Critical Essays contributed to** the 'Eclectic Review.' Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Essays: On Decision of Charac**ter; on a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself; on the epithet Romantic; on the aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion. *N. S.*

—— **Essays on the Evils of Popular** Ignorance, and a Discourse on the Propagation of Christianity in India. *N. S.*

—— **Essay on the Improvement of** Time, with Notes of Sermons and other Pieces. *N. S.*

—— **Fosteriana:** selected from periodical papers, edit. by H. G. Bohn. *N. S.*

FOX (Rt. Hon. C. J.)—*See Carrel.*

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Complete and unabridged, with variorum Notes; including those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and others. 7 vols. 2 Maps and Portrait. *N. S.*

GOETHE'S Works. Trans. into English by E. A. Bowring, C.B., Anna Swanwick, Sir Walter Scott, &c. &c. 13 vols. *N. S.*

Vols. I. and II.—Autobiography and Annals. Portrait.

Vol. III.—Faust. Complete.

Vol. IV.—Novels and Tales: containing Elective Affinities, Sorrows of Werther, The German Emigrants, The Good Women, and a Nouvelette.

Vol. V.—Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.

Vol. VI.—Conversations with Eckerman and Soret.

Vol. VII.—Poems and Ballads in the original Metres, including Hermann and Dorothea.

Vol. VIII.—Götz von Berlichingen, Torquato Tasso, Egmont, Iphigenia, Clavigo, Wayward Lover, and Fellow Culprits.

Vol. IX.—Wilhelm Meister's Travels. Complete Edition.

Vol. X.—Tour in Italy. Two Parts. And Second Residence in Rome.

Vol. XI.—Miscellaneous Travels, Letters from Switzerland, Campaign in France, Siege of Mainz, and Rhine Tour.

Vol. XII.—Early and Miscellaneous Letters, including Letters to his Mother, with Biography and Notes.

Vol. XIII.—Correspondence with Zelter.

—— Correspondence with Schiller. 2 vols.—*See Schiller.*

GOLDSMITH'S Works. 5 vols. *N.S.*

Vol. I.—Life, Vicar of Wakefield, Essays, and Letters.

Vol. II.—Poems, Plays, Bee, Cock Lane Ghost.

Vol. III.—The Citizen of the World, Polite Learning in Europe.

Vol. IV.—Biographies, Criticisms, Later Essays.

Vol. V.—Prefaces, Natural History, Letters, Goody Two-Shoes, Index.

GREENE, MARLOW, and BEN JONSON (Poems of). With Notes and Memoirs by R. Bell. *N. S.*

GREGORY'S (Dr.) The Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion.

GRIMM'S Household Tales. With the Original Notes. Trans. by Mrs. A. Hunt. Introduction by Andrew Lang, M.A. 2 vols. *N. S.*

GUIZOT'S History of Representative Government in Europe. Trans. by A. R. Scoble.

—— English Revolution of 1640. From the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portrait.

—— History of Civilisation. From the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portraits. 3 vols.

HALL'S (Rev. Robert) Works and Remains. Memoir by Dr. Gregory and Essay by J. Foster. Portrait.

HAUFF'S Tales. The Caravan—The Sheikh of Alexandria—The Inn in the Spessart. Translated by Prof. S. Mendel. *N. S.*

HAWTHORNE'S Tales. 3 vols. *N. S.*

Vol. I.—Twice-told Tales, and the Snow Image.

Vol. II.—Scarlet Letter, and the House with Seven Gables.

Vol. III.—Transformation, and Blithedale Romance.

HAZLITT'S (W.) Works. 7 vols. *N. S.*

—— Table-Talk.

—— The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth and Characters of Shakespeare's Plays. *N. S.*

—— English Poets and English Comic Writers. *N. S.*

—— The Plain Speaker. Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. *N. S.*

—— Round Table. Conversations of James Northcote, R.A.; Characteristics. *N. S.*

—— Sketches and Essays, and Winterslow. *N. S.*

—— Spirit of the Age; or, Contemporary Portraits. To which are added Free Thoughts on Public Affairs, and a Letter to William Gifford. New Edition by W. Carew Hazlitt. *N. S.*

HEINE'S Poems. Translated in the original Metres, with Life by E. A. Bowring, C.B. *N. S.*

—— Travel-Pictures. The Tour in the Harz, Norderney, and Book of Ideas, together with the Romantic School. Trans. by F. Storr. With Maps and Appendices. *N. S.*

HOFFMANN'S Works. The Serapion Brethren. Vol. I. Trans. by Lt.-Col. Ewing. *N. S.* [*Vol. II. in the press.*

HUGO'S (Victor) Dramatic Works. Hernani—Ruy Blas—The King's Diversion. Translated by Mrs. Newton Crosland and F. L. Slous. *N. S.*

—— **Poems,** chiefly Lyrical. Collected by H. L. Williams. *N. S.*
This volume contains contributions from F. S. Mahoney, G. W. M. Reynolds, Andrew Lang, Edwin Arnold, Mrs. Newton Crosland, Miss Fanny Kemble, Bishop Alexander, Prof. Dowden, &c.

HUNGARY: its History and Revolution, with Memoir of Kossuth. Portrait.

HUTCHINSON (Colonel). Memoirs of. By his Widow, with her Autobiography, and the Siege of Lathom House. Portrait. *N. S.*

IRVING'S (Washington) Complete Works. 15 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life and Letters.** By his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. With Index and a Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

JAMES'S (G. P. R.) Life of Richard Cœur de Lion. Portraits of Richard and Philip Augustus. 2 vols.

—— **Louis XIV.** Portraits. 2 vols.

JAMESON (Mrs.) Shakespeare's Heroines. Characteristics of Women. By Mrs. Jameson. *N. S.*

JEAN PAUL.—*See Richter.*

JONSON (Ben). Poems of.—*See Greene.*

JUNIUS'S Letters. With Woodfall's Notes. An Essay on the Authorship. Facsimiles of Handwriting. 2 vols. *N. S.*

LA FONTAINE'S Fables. In English Verse, with Essay on the Fabulists. By Elizur Wright. *N. S.*

LAMARTINE'S The Girondists, or Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution. Trans. by H. T. Ryde. Portraits of Robespierre, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday. 3 vols.

—— **The Restoration of Monarchy** in France (a Sequel to The Girondists). 5 Portraits. 4 vols.

—— **The French Revolution of 1848.** 6 Portraits.

LAMB'S (Charles) Elia and Eliana. Complete Edition. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **Specimens of English Dramatic** Poets of the time of Elizabeth. Notes, with the Extracts from the Garrick Plays. *N. S.*

—— **Talfourd's Letters of Charles** Lamb. New Edition, by W. Carew Hazlitt. 2 vols. *N. S.*

LANZI'S History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the 18th Century. With Memoir of the Author. Portraits of Raffaelle, Titian, and Correggio, after the Artists themselves. Trans. by T. Roscoe. 3 vols.

LAPPENBERG'S England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings. Trans. by B. Thorpe, F.S.A. 2 vols. *N. S.*

LESSING'S Dramatic Works. Complete. By E. Bell, M.A. With Memoir by H. Zimmern. Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Laokoon, Dramatic Notes, and** Representation of Death by the Ancients. Frontispiece. *N. S.*

LOCKE'S Philosophical Works, containing Human Understanding, with Bishop of Worcester, Malebranche's Opinions, Natural Philosophy, Reading and Study. With Preliminary Discourse, Analysis, and Notes, by J. A. St. John. Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life and Letters,** with Extracts from his Common-place Books. By Lord King.

LOCKHART (J. G.)—*See Burns.*

LONSDALE (Lord).—*See Carrel.*

LUTHER'S Table-Talk. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Life by A. Chalmers, and LUTHER'S CATECHISM. Portrait after Cranach. *N, S.*

—— **Autobiography.**—*See Michelet.*

MACHIAVELLI'S History of Florence, THE PRINCE, Savonarola, Historical Tracts, and Memoir. Portrait. *N. S.*

MARLOWE. Poems of.—*See Greene.*

MARTINEAU'S (Harriet) History of England (including History of the Peace) from 1800-1846. 5 vols. *N. S.*

MENZEL'S History of Germany, from the Earliest Period to the Crimean War. 3 Portraits. 3 vols.

MICHELET'S Autobiography of Luther. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Notes. *N. S.*

—— **The French Revolution** to the Flight of the King in 1791. *N. S.*

MIGNET'S The French Revolution, from 1789 to 1814. Portrait of Napoleon. *N. S.*

MILTON'S Prose Works. With Preface, Preliminary Remarks by J. A. St. John, and Index. 5 vols.

MITFORD'S (Miss) Our Village. Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery. 2 Engravings. 2 vols. *N. S.*

MOLIÈRE'S Dramatic Works. In English Prose, by C. H. Wall. With a Life and a Portrait. 3 vols. *N. S.*

'It is not too much to say that we have here probably as good a translation of Molière as can be given.'—*Academy.*

MONTAGU. Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Lord Wharncliffe's Third Edition. Edited by W. Moy Thomas. With steel plates. 2 vols. 5*s.* each. *N. S.*

MONTESQUIEU'S Spirit of Laws. Revised Edition, with D'Alembert's Analysis, Notes, and Memoir. 2 vols. *N. S.*

NEANDER (Dr. A.) History of the Christian Religion and Church. Trans. by J. Torrey. With Short Memoir. 10 vols.

—— **Life of Jesus Christ, in its Historical** Connexion and Development. *N. S.*

—— **The Planting and Training of** the Christian Church by the Apostles. With the Antignosticus, or Spirit of Tertullian. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the History of** Christian Dogmas. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Memorials of Christian Life in** the Early and Middle Ages; including Light in Dark Places. Trans. by J. E. Ryland.

OCKLEY (S.) History of the Saracens and their Conquests in Syria, Persia, and Egypt. Comprising the Lives of Mohammed and his Successors to the Death of Abdalmelik, the Eleventh Caliph. By Simon Ockley, B.D., Prof. of Arabic in Univ. of Cambridge. Portrait of Mohammed.

PERCY'S Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, consisting of Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, with some few of later date. With Essay on Ancient Minstrels, and Glossary. 2 vols. *N. S.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES. Memoirs of. Containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. With the History of Louis XI., by J. de Troyes. With a Life and Notes by A. R. Scoble. Portraits. 2 vols.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. Newly Translated, with Notes and Life, by A Stewart, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and G. Long, M.A. 4 vols. *N. S.*

POETRY OF AMERICA. Selections from One Hundred Poets, from 1776 to 1876. With Introductory Review, and Specimens of Negro Melody, by W. J. Linton. Portrait of W. Whitman. *N. S.*

RANKE (L.) History of the Popes, their Church and State, and their Conflicts with Protestantism in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Trans. by E. Foster. Portraits of Julius II. (after Raphael), Innocent X. (after Velasquez), and Clement VII. (after Titian). 3 vols. *N. S.*

—— **History of Servia.** Trans. by Mrs. Kerr. To which is added, The Slave Provinces of Turkey, by Cyprien Robert. *N. S.*

—— **History of the Latin and Teu**tonic Nations. 1494–1514. Trans. by P. A. Ashworth, translator of Dr. Gneist's 'History of the English Constitution.' *N. S.*

REUMONT (Alfred de).—*See Carafas.*

REYNOLDS' (Sir J.) Literary Works. With Memoir and Remarks by H. W. Beechy. 2 vols. *N. S.*

RICHTER (Jean Paul). Levana, a Treatise on Education; together with the Autobiography, and a short Memoir. *N. S.*

—— **Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces,** or the Wedded Life, Death, and Marriage of Siebenkaes. Translated by Alex. Ewing. *N. S.*

The only complete English translation.

ROSCOE'S (W.) Life of Leo X., with Notes, Historical Documents, and Dissertation on Lucretia Borgia. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

—— **Lorenzo de' Medici,** called 'The Magnificent,' with Copyright Notes, Poems, Letters, &c. With Memoir of Roscoe and Portrait of Lorenzo.

RUSSIA, History of, from the earliest Period to the Crimean War. By W. K. Kelly. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

SCHILLER'S Works. 6 vols. *N. S.*

Vol. I.—Thirty Years' War—Revolt in the Netherlands. Rev A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. Portrait.

Vol. II.—Revolt in the Netherlands, *completed*—Wallenstein. By J. Churchill and S. T. Coleridge.—William Tell. Sir Theodore Martin. Engraving (after Vandyck).

Vol. III.—Don Carlos. R. D. Boylan—Mary Stuart. Mellish—Maid of Orleans. Anna Swanwick—Bride of Messina. A. Lodge, M.A. Together with the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy (a short Essay). Engravings.

These Dramas are all translated in metre.

Vol. IV.—Robbers—Fiesco—Love and Intrigue—Demetrius—Ghost Seer—Sport of Divinity.

The Dramas in this volume are in prose.

Vol. V.—Poems. E. A. Bowring, C.B.

Vol. VI.—Essays, Æsthetical and Philosophical, including the Dissertation on the Connexion between the Animal and Spiritual in Man.

SCHILLER and GOETHE. Correspondence between, from A.D. 1794-1805. With Short Notes by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SCHLEGEL'S (F.) Lectures on the Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language. By A. J. W. Morrison.

—— **The History of Literature,** Ancient and Modern.

—— **The Philosophy of History.** With Memoir and Portrait.

—— **Modern History,** with the Lectures entitled Cæsar and Alexander, and The Beginning of our History. By L. Purcel and R. H. Whitelock.

—— **Æsthetic and Miscellaneous** Works, containing Letters on Christian Art, Essay on Gothic Architecture, Remarks on the Romance Poetry of the Middle Ages, on Shakspeare, the Limits of the Beautiful, and on the Language and Wisdom of the Indians. By E. J. Millington.

SCHLEGEL (A. W.) Dramatic Art and Literature. By J. Black. With Memoir by A. J. W. Morrison. Portrait.

SCHUMANN (Robert), His Life and Works. By A. Reissmann. Trans. by A. L. Alger. *N. S.*

—— **Early Letters.** Translated by May Herbert. *N. S.*

SHAKESPEARE'S Dramatic Art. The History and Character of Shakspeare's Plays. By Dr. H. Ulrici. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SHERIDAN'S Dramatic Works. With Memoir. Portrait (after Reynolds). *N. S.*

SKEAT (Rev. W. W.)—*See Chaucer.*

SISMONDI'S History of the Literature of the South of Europe. With Notes and Memoir by T. Roscoe. Portraits of Sismondi and Dante. 2 vols.

The specimens of early French, Italian, Spanish, and Portugese Poetry, in English Verse, by Cary and others.

SMITH'S (Adam) The Wealth of Nations. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of. Reprinted from the Sixth Edition. With an Introduction by Ernest Belfort Bax. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SMITH'S (Adam) Theory of Moral Sentiments; with Essay on the First Formation of Languages, and Critical Memoir by Dugald Stewart.

SMYTH'S (Professor) Lectures on Modern History; from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to the close of the American Revolution. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the French Revolution.** With Index. 2 vols.

SOUTHEY.—*See Cowper, Wesley, and (Illustrated Library) Nelson.*

STURM'S Morning Communings with God, or Devotional Meditations for Every Day. Trans. by W. Johnstone, M.A.

SULLY. Memoirs of the Duke of, Prime Minister to Henry the Great. With Notes and Historical Introduction. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

TAYLOR'S (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying, with Prayers, containing the Whole Duty of a Christian and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions. Portrait. *N. S.*

THIERRY'S Conquest of England by the Normans; its Causes, and its Consequences in England and the Continent. By W. Hazlitt. With short Memoir. 2 Portraits. 2 vols. *N. S.*

TROYE'S (Jean de). — *See Philip de Commines.*

ULRICI (Dr.)—*See Shakespeare.*

VASARI. Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. By Mrs. J. Foster, with selected Notes. Portrait. 6 vols., Vol. VI. being an additional Volume of Notes by J. P. Richter. *N. S.*

WERNER'S Templars in Cyprus. Trans. by E. A. M. Lewis. *N. S.*

WESLEY, the Life of, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey. Portrait. 5*s. N. S.*

WHEATLEY. A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, being the Substance of everything Liturgical in all former Ritualist Commentators upon the subject. Frontispiece. *N. S.*

HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

22 *Volumes at* 5*s. each.* (5*l.* 10*s. per set.*)

EVELYN'S Diary and Correspondence, with the Private Correspondence of Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon) and Sir Richard Browne. Edited from the Original MSS. by W. Bray, F.A.S. 4 vols. *N. S.* 45 Engravings (after Vandyke, Lely, Kneller, and Jamieson, &c.).

N.B.—This edition contains 130 letters from Evelyn and his wife, contained in no other edition.

PEPYS' Diary and Correspondence. With Life and Notes, by Lord Braybrooke. 4 vols. *N. S.* With Appendix containing additional Letters, an Index, and 31 Engravings (after Vandyke, Sir P. Lely, Holbein, Kneller, &c.).

JESSE'S Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. 3 vols. With Index and 42 Portraits (after Vandyke, Lely, &c.).

—— **Memoirs of the Pretenders and** their Adherents. 7 Portraits.

NUGENT'S (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party and Times. With Memoir. 12 Portraits (after Vandyke and others). *N. S.*

STRICKLAND'S (Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest. From authentic Documents, public and private. 6 Portraits. 6 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life of Mary Queen of Scots.** 2 Portraits. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Lives of the Tudor and Stuart** Princesses. With 2 Portraits. *N. S.*

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

17 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (3*l.* 19*s. per set.*)

BACON'S Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning. With Notes by J. Devey, M.A.

BAX. A Handbook of the History of Philosophy, for the use of Students. By E. Belfort Bax, Editor of Kant's 'Prolegomena.' 5*s. N. S.*

COMTE'S Philosophy of the Sciences. An Exposition of the Principles of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. By G. H. Lewes, Author of 'The Life of Goethe.'

DRAPER (Dr. J. W.) A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. 2 vols. *N. S.*

HEGEL'S Philosophy of History. By J. Sibree, M.A.

KANT'S Critique of Pure Reason. By J. M. D. Meiklejohn. *N. S.*

—— **Prolegomena and Metaphysical** Foundations of Natural Science, with Biography and Memoir by E. Belfort Bax. Portrait. *N. S.*

LOGIC, or the Science of Inference. A Popular Manual. By J. Devey.

MILLER (Professor). History Philosophically Illustrated, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. With Memoir. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SCHOPENHAUER on the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, and on the Will in Nature. Trans. from the German.

SPINOZA'S Chief Works. Trans. with Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. 2 vols. *N.S.*

Vol. I.—Tractatus Theologico-Politicus —Political Treatise.

Vol. II.—Improvement of the Understanding—Ethics—Letters.

TENNEMANN'S Manual of the History of Philosophy. Trans. by Rev. A. Johnson, M.A.

THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

15 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BLEEK. Introduction to the Old Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Trans. under the supervision of Rev. E. Venables, Residentiary Canon of Lincoln. 2 vols. *N. S.*

CHILLINGWORTH'S Religion of Protestants. 3*s.* 6*d.*

EUSEBIUS. Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilius, Bishop of Cæsarea. Trans. by Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. With Notes, Life, and Chronological Tables.

EVAGRIUS. History of the Church. —*See Theodoret.*

HARDWICK. History of the Articles of Religion; to which is added a Series of Documents from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615. Ed. by Rev. F. Proctor. *N. S.*

HENRY'S (Matthew) Exposition of the Book of Psalms. Numerous Woodcuts.

PEARSON (John, D.D.) Exposition of the Creed. Edit. by E. Walford, M.A. With Notes, Analysis, and Indexes. *N. S.*

PHILO-JUDÆUS, Works of. The Contemporary of Josephus. Trans. by C. D. Yonge. 4 vols.

PHILOSTORGIUS. Ecclesiastical History of.—*See Sozomen.*

SOCRATES' Ecclesiastical History. Comprising a History of the Church from Constantine, A.D. 305, to the 38th year of Theodosius II. With Short Account of the Author, and selected Notes.

SOZOMEN'S Ecclesiastical History. A.D. 324-440. With Notes, Prefatory Remarks by Valesius, and Short Memoir. Together with the ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSTORGIUS, as epitomised by Photius. Trans. by Rev. E. Walford, M.A. With Notes and brief Life.

THEODORET and EVAGRIUS. Histories of the Church from A.D. 332 to the Death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 427; and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544. With Memoirs.

WIESELER'S (Karl) Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. Trans. by Rev. Canon Venables. *N. S.*

ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY.

35 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (8*l.* 15*s. per set.*)

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. — *See Bede.*

ASSER'S Life of Alfred.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

BEDE'S (Venerable) Ecclesiastical History of England. Together with the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. With Notes, Short Life, Analysis, and Map. Edit. by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

BOETHIUS'S Consolation of Philo-sophy. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of. With an English Translation on opposite pages, Notes, Introduction, and Glossary, by Rev. S. Fox, M.A. To which is added the Anglo-Saxon Version of the METRES OF BOETHIUS, with a free Translation by Martin F. Tupper, D.C.L.

BRAND'S Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar and Provincial Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions. By Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S. Frontispiece. 3 vols.

CHRONICLES of the CRUSADES. Contemporary Narratives of Richard Cœur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf; and of the Crusade at Saint Louis, by Lord John de Joinville. With Short Notes. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

DYER'S (T. F. T.) British Popular Customs, Present and Past. An Account of the various Games and Customs associated with different Days of the Year in the British Isles, arranged according to the Calendar. By the Rev. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, M.A.

EARLY TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De la Brocquière, and Maundrell; all unabridged. With Introduction and Notes by Thomas Wright. Map of Jerusalem.

ELLIS (G.) Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, relating to Arthur, Merlin, Guy of Warwick, Richard Cœur de Lion, Charlemagne, Roland, &c. &c. With Historical Introduction by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

ETHELWERD. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER'S Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History from the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I. Trans., with Notes, by Thomas Forester, M.A.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GESTA ROMANORUM, or Entertaining Moral Stories invented by the Monks. Trans. with Notes by the Rev. Charles Swan. Edit. by W. Hooper, M.A.

GILDAS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS' Historical Works. Containing Topography of Ireland, and History of the Conquest of Ireland, by Th. Forester, M.A. Itinerary through Wales, and Description of Wales, by Sir R. Colt Hoare.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S History of the English, from the Roman Invasion to the Accession of Henry II.; with the Acts of King Stephen, and the Letter to Walter. By T. Forester, M.A. Frontispiece from au old MS.

INGULPH'S Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland, with the CONTINUATION by Peter of Blois and others. Trans. with Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A.

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Fairy Mythology, illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries. Frontispiece by Cruikshank. *N. S.*

LEPSIUS'S Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai; to which are added, Extracts from his Chronology of the Egyptians, with reference to the Exodus of the Israelites. By L. and J. B. Horner. Maps and Coloured View of Mount Barkal.

MALLET'S Northern Antiquities, or an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religions, and Literature of the Ancient Scandinavians. Trans. by Bishop Percy. With Translation of the PROSE EDDA, and Notes by J. A. Blackwell. Also an Abstract of the 'Eyrbyggia Saga' by Sir Walter Scott. With Glossary and Coloured Frontispiece.

MARCO POLO'S Travels; with Notes and Introduction. Edit. by T. Wright.

MATTHEW PARIS'S English History, from 1235 to 1273. By Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. With Frontispiece. 3 vols.—*See also Roger of Wendover.*

MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER'S Flowers of History, especially such as relate to the affairs of Britain, from the beginning of the World to A.D. 1307. By C. D. Yonge. 2 vols.

NENNIUS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ORDERICUS VITALIS' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. With Notes, Introduction of Guizot, and the Critical Notice of M. Delille, by T. Forester, M.A. To which is added the CHRONICLE OF ST. EVROULT. With General and Chronological Indexes. 4 vols.

PAULI'S (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great. To which is appended Alfred's ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS. With literal Translation interpaged, Notes, and an ANGLO-SAXON GRAMMAR and Glossary, by B. Thorpe, Esq. Frontispiece.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ROGER DE HOVEDEN'S Annals of English History, comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. With Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

ROGER OF WENDOVER'S Flowers of History, comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. With Notes and Index by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 2 vols.

SIX OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLES: viz., Asser's Life of Alfred and the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester. Edit., with Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Portrait of Alfred.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the Earliest Period to King Stephen. By Rev. J. Sharpe. With Notes by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Frontispiece.

YULE-TIDE STORIES. A Collection of Scandinavian and North-German Popular Tales and Traditions, from the Swedish, Danish, and German. Edit. by B. Thorpe.

ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

88 Vols. at 5s. each, excepting those marked otherwise. (*23l. 11s. per set.*)

ALLEN'S (Joseph, R.N.) Battles of the British Navy. Revised edition, with Indexes of Names and Events, and 57 Portraits and Plans. 2 vols.

ANDERSEN'S Danish Fairy Tales. By Caroline Peachey. With Short Life and 120 Wood Engravings.

ARIOSTO'S Orlando Furioso. In English Verse by W. S. Rose. With Notes and Short Memoir. Portrait after Titian, and 24 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

BECHSTEIN'S Cage and Chamber Birds: their Natural History, Habits, &c. Together with SWEET'S BRITISH WARBLERS. 43 Plates and Woodcuts. *N. S.*

—— or with the Plates Coloured, *7s. 6d.*

BONOMI'S Nineveh and its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ. 7 Plates and 294 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

BUTLER'S Hudibras, with Variorum Notes and Biography. Portrait and 28 Illustrations.

CATTERMOLE'S Evenings at Haddon Hall. Romantic Tales of the Olden Times. With 24 Steel Engravings after Cattermole.

CHINA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. Map, and nearly 100 Illustrations.

CRAIK'S (G. L.) Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. Illustrated by Anecdotes and Memoirs. Numerous Woodcut Portraits. *N. S.*

CRUIKSHANK'S Three Courses and a Dessert; comprising three Sets of Tales, West Country, Irish, and Legal; and a Mélange. With 50 Illustrations by Cruikshank. *N. S.*

—— **Punch and Judy.** The Dialogue of the Puppet Show; an Account of its Origin, &c. 24 Illustrations by Cruikshank. *N. S.*

—— With Coloured Plates. *7s. 6d.*

DIDRON'S Christian Iconography; a History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. By the late A. N. Didron. Trans. by E. J. Millington, and completed, with Additions and Appendices, by Margaret Stokes. 2 vols. With numerous Illustrations.

Vol. I. The History of the Nimbus, the Aureole, and the Glory; Representations of the Persons of the Trinity.

Vol. II. The Trinity; Angels; Devils; The Soul; The Christian Scheme. Appendices.

DANTE, in English Verse, by I. C. Wright, M.A. With Introduction and Memoir. Portrait and 34 Steel Engravings after Flaxman. *N. S.*

DYER (Dr. T. H.) Pompeii: its Buildings and Antiquities. An Account of the City, with full Description of the Remains and Recent Excavations, and an Itinerary for Visitors. By T. H. Dyer, LL.D. Nearly 300 Wood Engravings, Map, and Plan. *7s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Rome:** History of the City, with Introduction on recent Excavations. 8 Engravings, Frontispiece, and 2 Maps.

GIL BLAS. The Adventures of. From the French of Lesage by Smollett. 24 Engravings after Smirke, and 10 Etchings by Cruikshank. 612 pages. *6s.*

GRIMM'S Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, containing 42 Fairy Tales. By Edgar Taylor. Numerous Woodcuts after Cruikshank and Ludwig Grimm. *3s. 6d.*

HOLBEIN'S Dance of Death and Bible Cuts. Upwards of 150 Subjects, engraved in facsimile, with Introduction and Descriptions by the late Francis Douce and Dr. Dibdin. *7s. 6d.*

HOWITT'S (Mary) Pictorial Calendar of the Seasons; embodying AIKIN'S CALENDAR OF NATURE. Upwards of 100 Woodcuts.

INDIA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, from the Earliest Times. 100 Engravings on Wood and Map.

JESSE'S Anecdotes of Dogs. With 40 Woodcuts after Harvey, Bewick, and others. *N. S.*

—— With 34 additional Steel Engravings after Cooper, Landseer, &c. *7s. 6d. N. S.*

KING'S (C. W.) Natural History of Gems or Decorative Stones. Illustrations. *6s.*

—— **Natural History of Precious** Stones and Metals. Illustrations. *6s.*

KITTO'S Scripture Lands. Described in a series of Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Sketches. 42 Maps.

—— With the Maps coloured, *7s. 6d.*

KRUMMACHER'S Parables. 40 Illustrations.

LINDSAY'S (Lord) Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land. 36 Wood Engravings and 2 Maps.

LODGE'S Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs. 240 Portraits engraved on Steel, with the respective Biographies unabridged. Complete in 8 vols.

LONGFELLOW'S Poetical Works, including his Translations and Notes. 24 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others, and a Portrait. *N. S.*

—— Without the Illustrations, *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Prose Works.** With 16 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others.

LOUDON'S (Mrs.) Entertaining Naturalist. Popular Descriptions, Tales, and Anecdotes, of more than 500 Animals. Numerous Woodcuts. *N. S.*

MARRYAT'S (Capt., R.N.) Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the *Pacific*. (Written for Young People.) With 93 Woodcuts. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Mission; or, Scenes in Africa.** (Written for Young People.) Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Pirate and Three Cutters.** (Written for Young People.) With a Memoir. 8 Steel Engravings after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Privateersman.** Adventures by Sea and Land One Hundred Years Ago. (Written for Young People.) 8 Steel Engravings. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Settlers in Canada.** (Written for Young People.) 10 Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Poor Jack.** (Written for Young People.) With 16 Illustrations after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Midshipman Easy.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. Small post 8vo. *3s. 6d. N.S.*

—— **Peter Simple.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. Small post 8vo. *3s. 6d. N.S.*

MAXWELL'S Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. Frontispiece and 4 Portraits.

MICHAEL ANGELO and RAPHAEL, Their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremère de Quincy. Portraits and Engravings, including the Last Judgment, and Cartoons. *N. S.*

MILLER'S History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest. Portrait of Alfred, Map of Saxon Britain, and 12 Steel Engravings.

MILTON'S Poetical Works, with a Memoir and Notes by J. Montgomery, an Index to Paradise Lost, Todd's Verbal Index to all the Poems, and Notes. 120 Wood Engravings. 2 vols. *N. S.*

MUDIE'S History of British Birds. Revised by W. C. L. Martin. 52 Figures of Birds and 7 Plates of Eggs. 2 vols. *N.S.*

—— With the Plates coloured, *7s. 6d.* per vol.

NAVAL and MILITARY HEROES of Great Britain; a Record of British Valour on every Day in the year, from William the Conqueror to the Battle of Inkermann. By Major Johns, R.M., and Lieut. P. H. Nicolas, R.M. Indexes. 24 Portraits after Holbein, Reynolds, &c. *6s.*

NICOLINI'S History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. 8 Portraits.

PETRARCH'S Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems, in English Verse. With Life by Thomas Campbell. Portrait and 15 Steel Engravings.

PICKERING'S History of the Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution; with AN ANALYTICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN. By Dr. Hall. Map of the World and 12 Plates.

—— With the Plates coloured, *7s. 6d.*

PICTORIAL HANDBOOK OF Modern Geography on a Popular Plan. Compiled from the best Authorities, English and Foreign, by H. G. Bohn. 150 Woodcuts and 51 Maps. *6s.*

—— With the Maps coloured, *7s. 6d.*

—— Without the Maps, *3s. 6d.*

POPE'S Poetical Works, including Translations. Edit., with Notes, by R. Carruthers. 2 vols.

—— **Homer's Iliad,** with Introduction and Notes by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs. *N. S.*

—— **Homer's Odyssey,** with the BATTLE OF FROGS AND MICE, Hymns, &c., by other translators, including Chapman. Introduction and Notes by J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs. *N. S.*

—— **Life,** including many of his Letters. By R. Carruthers. Numerous Illustrations.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, and other objects of Vertu. Comprising an Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection, with the prices and names of the Possessors. Also an Introductory Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain, and an Engraved List of all Marks and Monograms. By H. G. Bohn. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— With coloured Illustrations, *10s. 6d.*

PROUT'S (Father) Reliques. Edited by Rev. F. Mahony. Copyright edition, with the Author's last corrections and additions. 21 Etchings by D. Maclise, R.A. Nearly 600 pages. *5s. N. S.*

RECREATIONS IN SHOOTING. With some Account of the Game found in the British Isles, and Directions for the Management of Dog and Gun. By 'Craven.' 62 Woodcuts and 9 Steel Engravings after A. Cooper, R.A.

REDDING'S History and Descriptions of Wines, Ancient and Modern. 20 Woodcuts.

RENNIE. Insect Architecture. Revised by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. 186 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

ROBINSON CRUSOE. With Memoir of Defoe, 12 Steel Engravings and 74 Woodcuts after Stothard and Harvey.

—— Without the Engravings, *3s. 6d.*

ROME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. An Account in 1817 of the Ruins of the Ancient City, and Monuments of Modern Times. By C. A. Eaton. 34 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

SHARPE (S.) The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. 2 Maps and upwards of 400 Woodcuts. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SOUTHEY'S Life of Nelson. With Additional Notes, Facsimiles of Nelson's Writing, Portraits, Plans, and 50 Engravings, after Birket Foster, &c. *N. S.*

STARLING'S (Miss) Noble Deeds of Women; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude, and Virtue. With 14 Steel Portraits. *N. S.*

STUART and REVETT'S Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece; with Glossary of Terms used in Grecian Architecture. 71 Steel Plates and numerous Woodcuts.

SWEET'S British Warblers. *5s.—See Bechstein.*

TALES OF THE GENII; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar. Trans. by Sir C. Morrell. Numerous Woodcuts.

TASSO'S Jerusalem Delivered. In English Spenserian Verse, with Life, by J. H. Wiffen. With 8 Engravings and 24 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

WALKER'S Manly Exercises; containing Skating, Riding, Driving, Hunting, Shooting, Sailing, Rowing, Swimming, &c. 44 Engravings and numerous Woodcuts.

WALTON'S Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation, by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With Memoirs and Notes by E. Jesse. Also an Account of Fishing Stations, Tackle, &c., by H. G. Bohn. Portrait and 203 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

—— With 26 additional Engravings on Steel, *7s. 6d.*

—— **Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker,** &c., with Notes. A New Edition, revised by A. H. Bullen, with a Memoir of Izaak Walton by William Dowling. 6 Portraits, 6 Autograph Signatures, &c. *N. S.*

WELLINGTON, Life of. From the Materials of Maxwell. 18 Steel Engravings.

—— **Victories of.**—*See Maxwell.*

WESTROPP (H. M.) A Handbook of Archæology, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman. By H. M. Westropp. Numerous Illustrations. *7s. 6d. N. S.*

WHITE'S Natural History of Sel-borne, with Observations on various Parts of Nature, and the Naturalists' Calendar. Sir W. Jardine. Edit., with Notes and Memoir, by E. Jesse. 40 Portraits. *N. S.*

—— With the Plates coloured, *7s. 6d. N. S.*

YOUNG LADY'S BOOK, The. A Manual of Recreations, Arts, Sciences, and Accomplishments. 1200 Woodcut Illustrations. *7s. 6d.*

—— cloth gilt, gilt edges, *9s.*

CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK AND LATIN.

101 *Vols. at 5s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (*24l. 15s. 6d. per set.*)

ÆSCHYLUS, The Dramas of. In English Verse by Anna Swanwick. 4th edition. *N. S.*

—— **The Tragedies of.** In Prose, with Notes and Introduction, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. His-tory of Rome during the Reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens, by C. D. Yonge, B.A. Double volume. *7s. 6d.*

ANTONINUS (M. Aurelius), The Thoughts of. Translated literally, with Notes, Biographical Sketch, and Essay on the Philosophy, by George Long, M.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

APULEIUS, The Works of. Comprising the Golden Ass, God of Socrates, Florida, and Discourse of Magic. With a Metrical Version of Cupid and Psyche, and Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. Frontispiece.

ARISTOPHANES' Comedies. Trans., with Notes and Extracts from Frere's and other Metrical Versions, by W. J. Hickie. Portrait. 2 vols.

ARISTOTLE'S Nicomachean Ethics. Trans., with Notes, Analytical Introduction, and Questions for Students, by Ven. Archdn. Browne.

—— **Politics and Economics.** Trans., with Notes, Analyses, and Index, by E. Walford, M.A., and an Essay and Life by Dr. Gillies.

—— **Metaphysics.** Trans., with Notes, Analysis, and Examination Questions, by Rev. John H. M'Mahon, M.A.

—— **History of Animals.** In Ten Books. Trans., with Notes and Index, by R. Cresswell, M.A.

—— **Organon;** or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry. With Notes, Analysis, and Introduction, by Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A. 2 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

—— **Rhetoric and Poetics.** Trans., with Hobbes' Analysis, Exam. Questions, and Notes, by T. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

ATHENÆUS. The Deipnosophists; or, the Banquet of the Learned. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With an Appendix of Poetical Fragments. 3 vols.

ATLAS of Classical Geography. 22 large Coloured Maps. With a complete Index. Imp. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

BION.—*See Theocritus.*

CÆSAR. Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, with the Supplementary Books attributed to Hirtius, including the complete Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Trans. with Notes. Portrait.

CATULLUS, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. Trans. with Notes and Biographical Introduction. To which are added, Metrical Versions by Lamb, Grainger, and others. Frontispiece.

CICERO'S Orations. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A. 4 vols.

—— **On Oratory and Orators.** With Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

—— **On the Nature of the Gods,** Divination, Fate, Laws, a Republic, Consulship. Trans., with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

—— **Academics,** De Finibus, and Tusculan Questions. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophers mentioned by Cicero.

CICERO'S Orations.—*Continued.*

—— **Offices;** or, Moral Duties. Cato Major, an Essay on Old Age; Lælius, an Essay on Friendship; Scipio's Dream; Paradoxes; Letter to Quintus on Magistrates. Trans., with Notes, by C. R. Edmonds. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

DEMOSTHENES' Orations. Trans., with Notes, Arguments, a Chronological Abstract, and Appendices, by C. Rann Kennedy. 5 vols.

DICTIONARY of LATIN and GREEK Quotations; including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms and Phrases. With the Quantities marked, and English Translations.

—— With Index Verborum (622 pages). *6s.*

—— Index Verborum to the above, with the *Quantities* and Accents marked (56 pages), limp cloth. *1s.*

DIOGENES LAERTIUS. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Trans., with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

EPICTETUS. The Discourses of. With the Encheiridion and Fragments. With Notes, Life, and View of his Philosophy, by George Long, M.A. *N. S.*

EURIPIDES. Trans., with Notes and Introduction, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 2 vols.

GREEK ANTHOLOGY. In English Prose by G. Burges, M.A. With Metrical Versions by Bland, Merivale, Lord Denman, &c.

GREEK ROMANCES of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius; viz., The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea; Amours of Daphnis and Chloe; and Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. R. Smith, M.A.

HERODOTUS. Literally trans. by Rev. Henry Cary, M.A. Portrait.

HESIOD, CALLIMACHUS, and Theognis. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Notices by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. Together with the Metrical Versions of Hesiod, by Elton; Callimachus, by Tytler; and Theognis, by Frere.

HOMER'S Iliad. In English Prose, with Notes by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

—— **Odyssey,** Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. In English Prose, with Notes and Memoir by T. A. Buckley, B.A.

HORACE. In Prose by Smart, with Notes selected by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

JULIAN THE EMPEROR. By the Rev. C. W. King, M.A.

JUSTIN, CORNELIUS NEPOS, and Eutropius. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

JUVENAL, PERSIUS, SULPICIA, and Lucilius. In Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, by L. Evans, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius by Gifford. Frontispiece.

LIVY. The History of Rome. Trans. by Dr. Spillan and others. 4 vols. Portrait.

LUCAN'S Pharsalia. In Prose, with Notes by H. T. Riley.

LUCIAN'S Dialogues of the Gods, of the Sea Gods, and of the Dead. Trans. by Howard Williams, M.A.

LUCRETIUS. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Introduction by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version by J. M. Good.

MARTIAL'S Epigrams, complete. In Prose, with Verse Translations selected from English Poets, and other sources. Dble. vol. (670 pages). *7s. 6d.*

MOSCHUS.—*See Theocritus.*

OVID'S Works, complete. In Prose, with Notes and Introduction. 3 vols.

PAUSANIAS' Description of Greece. Translated into English, with Notes and Index. By Arthur Richard Shilleto, M.A., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols.

PHALARIS. Bentley's Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop. With Introduction and Notes by Prof. W. Wagner, Ph.D.

PINDAR. In Prose, with Introduction and Notes by Dawson W. Turner. Together with the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore. Portrait.

PLATO'S Works. Trans., with Introduction and Notes. 6 vols.

—— **Dialogues.** A Summary and Analysis of. With Analytical Index to the Greek text of modern editions and to the above translations, by A. Day, LL.D.

PLAUTUS'S Comedies. In Prose, with Notes and Index by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

PLINY'S Natural History. Trans., with Notes, by J. Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, B.A. 6 vols.

PLINY. The Letters of Pliny the Younger. Melmoth's Translation, revised, with Notes and short Life, by Rev. F. C. T. Bosanquet, M.A.

PLUTARCH'S Morals. Theosophical Essays. Trans. by C. W. King, M.A. *N. S.*

—— **Ethical Essays.** Trans. by A. R. Shilleto, M.A. *N.S.*

—— **Lives.** *See page 7.*

PROPERTIUS, The Elegies of. With Notes, Literally translated by the Rev. P. J. F. Gantillon, M.A., with metrical versions of Select Elegies by Nott and Elton. *3s. 6d.*

QUINTILIAN'S Institutes of Oratory. Trans., with Notes and Biographical Notice, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 2 vols.

SALLUST, FLORUS, and VELLEIUS Paterculus. Trans., with Notes and Biographical Notices, by J. S. Watson, M.A.

SENECA DE BENEFICIIS. Newly translated by Aubrey Stewart, M.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

SENECA'S Minor Works. Translated by A. Stewart, M.A. [*In the press.*

SOPHOCLES. The Tragedies of. In Prose, with Notes, Arguments, and Introduction. Portrait.

STRABO'S Geography. Trans., with Notes, by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton. Copious Index, giving Ancient and Modern Names. 3 vols.

SUETONIUS' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars and Lives of the Grammarians. The Translation of Thomson, revised, with Notes, by T. Forester.

TACITUS. The Works of. Trans., with Notes. 2 vols.

TERENCE and PHÆDRUS. In English Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by H. T. Riley, B.A. To which is added Smart's Metrical Version of Phædrus. With Frontispiece.

THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS, and Tyrtæus. In Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. To which are appended the METRICAL VERSIONS of Chapman. Portrait of Theocritus.

THUCYDIDES. The Peloponnesian War. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. H. Dale. Portrait. 2 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

TYRTÆUS.—*See Theocritus.*

VIRGIL. The Works of. In Prose, with Notes by Davidson. Revised, with additional Notes and Biographical Notice, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

XENOPHON'S Works. Trans., with Notes, by J. S. Watson, M.A., and others. Portrait. In 3 vols.

COLLEGIATE SERIES.

10 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (2*l.* 10*s. per set.*)

DANTE. The Inferno. Prose Trans., with the Text of the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by John A. Carlyle, M.D. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **The Purgatorio.** Prose Trans., with the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by W. S. Dugdale. *N. S.*

NEW TESTAMENT (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with the Readings of Mill and Scholz at the foot of the page, and Parallel References in the margin. Also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. Two Fac-similes of Greek Manuscripts. 650 pages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— or bound up with a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (250 pages additional, making in all 900). 5*s.*

The Lexicon may be had separately, price 2*s.*

DOBREE'S Adversaria. (Notes on the Greek and Latin Classics.) Edited by the late Prof. Wagner. 2 vols.

DONALDSON (Dr.) The Theatre of the Greeks. With Supplementary Treatise on the Language, Metres, and Prosody of the Greek Dramatists. Numerous Illustrations and 3 Plans. By J. W. Donaldson, D.D. *N. S.*

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy. Revised by Leonhard Schmitz, Ph.D., LL.D. 12 Plates. *N. S.*

HERODOTUS, Notes on. Original and Selected from the best Commentators. By D. W. Turner, M.A. Coloured Map.

—— **Analysis and Summary of,** with a Synchronistical Table of Events—Tables of Weights, Measures, Money, and Distances—an Outline of the History and Geography—and the Dates completed from Gaisford, Baehr, &c. By J. T. Wheeler.

THUCYDIDES. An Analysis and Summary of. With Chronological Table of Events, &c., by J. T. Wheeler.

SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

58 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (15*l.* 3*s. per set.*)

AGASSIZ and GOULD. Outline of Comparative Physiology touching the Structure and Development of the Races of Animals living and extinct. For Schools and Colleges. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. With Index and 300 Illustrative Woodcuts.

BOLLEY'S Manual of Technical Analysis; a Guide for the Testing and Valuation of the various Natural and Artificial Substances employed in the Arts and Domestic Economy, founded on the work of Dr. Bolley. Edit. by Dr. Paul. 100 Woodcuts.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.

—— **Bell (Sir Charles) on the Hand;** its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, as evincing Design. Preceded by an Account of the Author's Discoveries in the Nervous System by A. Shaw. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— **Kirby on the History, Habits,** and Instincts of Animals. With Notes by T. Rymer Jones. 100 Woodcuts. 2 vols.

—— **Whewell's Astronomy and** General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology. Portrait of the Earl of Bridgewater. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.—*Continued.*

—— **Chalmers on the Adaptation of** External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. With Memoir by Rev. Dr. Cumming. Portrait.

—— **Prout's Treatise on Chemistry,** Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion, with reference to Natural Theology. Edit. by Dr. J. W. Griffith. 2 Maps.

—— **Buckland's Geology and Mine**ralogy. With Additions by Prof. Owen, Prof. Phillips, and R. Brown. Memoir of Buckland. Portrait. 2 vols. 15*s.* Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. 90 large plates with letterpress.

—— **Roget's Animal and Vegetable** Physiology. 463 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

—— **Kidd on the Adaptation of Ex**ternal Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CARPENTER'S (Dr. W. B.) Zoology. A Systematic View of the Structure, Habits, Instincts, and Uses of the principal Families of the Animal Kingdom, and of the chief Forms of Fossil Remains. Revised by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Numerous Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

CARPENTER'S Works.—*Continued.*

—— **Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy, and Horology.** A Popular Exposition. 181 Woodcuts.

—— **Vegetable Physiology and Systematic Botany.** A complete Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants. Revised by E. Lankester, M.D., &c. Numerous Woodcuts. *6s.*

—— **Animal Physiology.** Revised Edition. 300 Woodcuts. *6s.*

CHESS CONGRESS of 1862. A collection of the games played. Edited by J. Löwenthal. New edition, *5s.*

CHEVREUL on Colour. Containing the Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their Application to the Arts; including Painting, Decoration, Tapestries, Carpets, Mosaics, Glazing, Staining, Calico Printing, Letterpress Printing, Map Colouring, Dress, Landscape and Flower Gardening, &c. Trans. by C. Martel. Several Plates.

—— With an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours, *7s. 6d.*

ENNEMOSER'S History of Magic. Trans. by W. Howitt. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Second Sight, Table-Turning, and Spirit-Rapping, &c. 2 vols.

HIND'S Introduction to Astronomy. With Vocabulary of the Terms in present use. Numerous Woodcuts. *3s. 6d. N.S.*

HOGG'S (Jabez) Elements of Experimental and Natural Philosophy. Being an Easy Introduction to the Study of Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Acoustics, Optics, Caloric, Electricity, Voltaism, and Magnetism. 400 Woodcuts.

HUMBOLDT'S Cosmos; or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Trans. by E. C. Otté, B. H. Paul, and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Portrait. 5 vols. *3s. 6d.* each, excepting vol. v., *5s.*

—— **Personal Narrative of his Travels** in America during the years 1799–1804. Trans., with Notes, by T. Ross. 3 vols.

—— **Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of** Creation, with Scientific Illustrations. Trans. by E. C. Otté.

HUNT'S (Robert) Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, Professor at the School of Mines.

JOYCE'S Scientific Dialogues. A Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences. For Schools and Young People. Numerous Woodcuts.

JOYCE'S Introduction to the Arts and Sciences, for Schools and Young People. Divided into Lessons with Examination Questions. Woodcuts. *3s. 6d.*

JUKES-BROWNE'S Student's Handbook of Physical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, of the Geological Survey of England. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations, *6s. N.S.*

—— **The Student's Handbook of** Historical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Brown, B.A., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of England and Wales. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations. *6s. N.S.*

—— **The Building of the British** Islands. A Study in Geographical Evolution. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, F.G.S. *7s. 6d. N.S.*

KNIGHT'S (Charles) Knowledge is Power. A Popular Manual of Political Economy.

LECTURES ON PAINTING by the Royal Academicians, Barry, Opie, Fuseli. With Introductory Essay and Notes by R. Wornum. Portrait of Fuseli.

LILLY. Introduction to Astrology. With a Grammar of Astrology and Tables for calculating Nativities, by Zadkiel.

MANTELL'S (Dr.) Geological Excursions through the Isle of Wight and along the Dorset Coast. Numerous Woodcuts and Geological Map.

—— **Petrifactions and their Teachings.** Handbook to the Organic Remains in the British Museum. Numerous Woodcuts. *6s.*

—— **Wonders of Geology; or, a** Familiar Exposition of Geological Phenomena. A coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and 200 Woodcuts. 2 vols. *7s. 6d.* each.

MORPHY'S Games of Chess, being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with explanatory and analytical Notes by J. Löwenthal. With short Memoir and Portrait of Morphy.

SCHOUW'S Earth, Plants, and Man. Popular Pictures of Nature. And Kobell's Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom. Trans. by A. Henfrey, F.R.S. Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.

SMITH'S (Pye) Geology and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Scriptures and Geological Science. With Memoir.

STANLEY'S Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools, including an Account of some of the early German Masters. By George Stanley.

STAUNTON'S Chess-Player's Handbook. A Popular and Scientific Introduction to the Game, with numerous Diagrams and Coloured Frontispiece. *N.S.*

STAUNTON.—*Continued.*

—— **Chess Praxis.** A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing the most important modern Improvements in the Openings; Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Morphy's Games. Annotated. 636 pages. Diagrams. *6s.*

—— **Chess-Player's Companion.** Comprising a Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, including the French Match with M. St. Amant, and a Selection of Original Problems. Diagrams and Coloured Frontispiece.

—— **Chess Tournament of 1851.** A Collection of Games played at this celebrated assemblage. With Introduction and Notes. Numerous Diagrams.

STOCKHARDT'S Experimental Chemistry. A Handbook for the Study of the Science by simple Experiments. Edit. by C. W. Heaton, F.C.S. Numerous Woodcuts. *N. S.*

URE'S (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated; with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. 150 Illustrations. 2 vols.

—— **Philosophy of Manufactures,** or an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. Numerous Figures. 800 pages. *7s. 6d.*

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.

GILBART'S History, Principles, and Practice of Banking. Revised to 1881 by A. S. Michie, of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Portrait of Gilbart. 2 vols. *10s. N. S.*

REFERENCE LIBRARY.

28 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (*8l. 10s. per set.*)

BLAIR'S Chronological Tables. Comprehending the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Russian Treaty of Peace, April 1856. By J. W. Rosse. 800 pages. *10s.*

—— **Index of Dates.** Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest to the Present, alphabetically arranged; being a complete Index to the foregoing. By J. W. Rosse. 2 vols. *5s.* each.

BOHN'S Dictionary of Quotations from the English Poets. 4th and cheaper Edition. *6s.*

BUCHANAN'S Dictionary of Science and Technical Terms used in Philosophy, Literature, Professions, Commerce, Arts, and Trades. By W. H. Buchanan, with Supplement. Edited by Jas. A. Smith. *6s.*

CHRONICLES OF THE TOMBS. A Select Collection of Epitaphs, with Essay on Epitaphs and Observations on Sepulchral Antiquities. By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A. *5s.*

CLARK'S (Hugh) Introduction to Heraldry. Revised by J. R. Planché. *5s.* 950 Illustrations.

—— *With the Illustrations coloured, 15s. N. S.*

COINS, Manual of.—*See Humphreys.*

DATES, Index of.—*See Blair.*

DICTIONARY of Obsolete and Provincial English. Containing Words from English Writers previous to the 19th Century. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 2 vols. *5s.* each.

EPIGRAMMATISTS (The). A Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times. With Introduction, Notes, Observations, Illustrations, an Appendix on Works connected with Epigrammatic Literature, by Rev. H. Dodd, M.A. *6s. N. S.*

GAMES, Handbook of. Comprising Treatises on above 40 Games of Chance, Skill, and Manual Dexterity, including Whist, Billiards, &c. Edit. by Henry G. Bohn. Numerous Diagrams. *5s. N. S.*

HENFREY'S Guide to English Coins. Revised Edition, by C. F. Keary, M.A., F.S.A. With an Historical Introduction. *6s. N. S.*

HUMPHREYS' Coin Collectors' Manual. An Historical Account of the Progress of Coinage from the Earliest Time, by H. N. Humphreys. 140 Illustrations. 2 vols. *5s.* each. *N. S.*

LOWNDES' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. Containing an Account of Rare and Curious Books published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, from the Invention of Printing, with Biographical Notices and Prices, by W. T. Lowndes. Parts I.–X. (A to Z), 3*s.* 6*d.* each. Part XI. (Appendix Vol.), 5*s.* Or the 11 parts in 4 vols., half morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

MEDICINE, Handbook of Domestic, Popularly Arranged. By Dr. H. Davies. 700 pages. 5*s.*

NOTED NAMES OF FICTION. Dictionary of. Including also Familiar Pseudonyms, Surnames bestowed on Eminent Men, &c. By W. A. Wheeler, M.A. 5*s.* *N. S.*

POLITICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. A Dictionary of Political, Constitutional, Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge; forming a Work of Reference on subjects of Civil Administration, Political Economy, Finance, Commerce, Laws, and Social Relations. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

PROVERBS, Handbook of. Containing an entire Republication of Ray's Collection, with Additions from Foreign Languages and Sayings, Sentences, Maxims, and Phrases. 5*s.*

—— **A Polyglot of Foreign.** Comprising French, Italian, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish. With English Translations. 5*s.*

SYNONYMS and ANTONYMS; or, Kindred Words and their Opposites, Collected and Contrasted by Ven. C. J. Smith, M.A. 5*s.* *N. S.*

WRIGHT (Th.)—*See Dictionary.*

NOVELISTS' LIBRARY.

12 *Volumes at* 3*s.* 6*d. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (2*l.* 5*s. per set.*)

BURNEY'S Evelina; or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. By F. Burney (Mme. D'Arblay). With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis, Author of 'Sylvestra,' &c. *N. S.*

—— **Cecilia.** With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis. 2 vols. *N. S.*

DE STAËL. Corinne or Italy. By Madame de Staël. Translated by Emily Baldwin and Paulina Driver.

EBERS' Egyptian Princess. Trans. by Emma Buchheim. *N. S.*

FIELDING'S Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. With Roscoe's Biography. *Cruikshank's Illustrations. N. S.*

FIELDING.—*Continued.*

—— **Amelia.** Roscoe's Edition, revised. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 5*s.* *N. S.*

—— **History of Tom Jones, a Foundling.** Roscoe's Edition. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 2 vols. *N. S.*

GROSSI'S Marco Visconti. Trans. by A. F. D. *N. S.*

MANZONI. The Betrothed: being a Translation of 'I Promessi Sposi.' Numerous Woodcuts. 1 vol. (732 pages). 5*s.* *N. S.*

STOWE (Mrs. H. B.) Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. 8 full-page Illustrations. *N. S.*

ARTISTS' LIBRARY.

8 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BELL (Sir Charles). The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression, as Connected with the Fine Arts. 5*s.* *N. S.*

DEMMIN. History of Arms and Armour from the Earliest Period. By Auguste Demmin. Trans. by C. C. Black, M.A., Assistant Keeper, S. K. Museum. 1900 Illustrations. 7*s.* 6*d.* *N. S.*

FAIRHOLT'S Costume in England. Third Edition. Enlarged and Revised by the Hon. H. A. Dillon, F.S.A. With more than 700 Engravings. 2 vols. 5*s.* each. *N. S.*
Vol. I. History. Vol. I. Glossary.

FLAXMAN. Lectures on Sculpture. With Three Addresses to the R.A. by Sir R. Westmacott, R.A., and Memoir o Flaxman. Portrait and 53 Plates. 6*s.* *N.S.*

HEATON'S Concise History of Painting. New Edition, revised by W. Cosmo Monkhouse. 5*s.* *N.S.*

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S Treatise on Painting. Trans. by J. F. Rigaud, R.A. With a Life and an Account of his Works by J. W. Brown. Numerous Plates. 5*s.* *N.S.*

PLANCHÉ'S History of British Costume, from the Earliest Time to the 19th Century. By J. R. Planché. 400 Illustrations. 5*s.* *N. S.*

BOHN'S CHEAP SERIES.

PRICE ONE SHILLING EACH.

A Series of Complete Stories or Essays, mostly reprinted from Vols. in Bohn's Libraries, and neatly bound in stiff paper cover, with cut edges, suitable for Railway Reading.

ASCHAM (*ROGER*).—

SCHOLEMASTER. By PROFESSOR MAYOR.

CARPENTER (*DR. W. B.*).—

PHYSIOLOGY OF TEMPERANCE AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

EMERSON.—

ENGLAND AND ENGLISH CHARACTERISTICS. Lectures on the Race, Ability, Manners, Truth, Character, Wealth, Religion, &c. &c.

NATURE: An Essay. To which are added Orations, Lectures and Addresses.

REPRESENTATIVE MEN: Seven Lectures on PLATO, SWEDENBORG, MONTAIGNE, SHAKESPEARE, NAPOLEON, and GOETHE.

TWENTY ESSAYS on Various Subjects.

THE CONDUCT OF LIFE.

FRANKLIN (*BENJAMIN*).—

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Edited by J. SPARKS.

HAWTHORNE (*NATHANIEL*).—

TWICE-TOLD TALES. Two Vols. in One.

SNOW IMAGE, and other Tales.

SCARLET LETTER.

HOUSE WITH THE SEVEN GABLES.

TRANSFORMATION; or the Marble Fawn. Two Parts.

HAZLITT (*W.*).—

TABLE-TALK: Essays on Men and Manners. Three Parts.

PLAIN SPEAKER: Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. Three Parts.

LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH COMIC WRITERS.

LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH POETS.

HAZLITT (*W.*).—*Continued.*

LECTURES ON THE CHARACTERS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

LECTURES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF ELIZABETH, chiefly Dramatic.

IRVING (*WASHINGTON*).—

LIFE OF MOHAMMED. With Portrait.

LIVES OF SUCCESSORS OF MOHAMMED.

LIFE OF GOLDSMITH.

SKETCH-BOOK.

TALES OF A TRAVELLER.

TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

CONQUESTS OF GRANADA AND SPAIN. Two Parts.

LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS. Two Parts.

COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS: Their Voyages and Discoveries.

ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West.

KNICKERBOCKER'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty.

TALES OF THE ALHAMBRA.

CONQUEST OF FLORIDA UNDER HERNANDO DE SOTO.

ABBOTSFORD AND NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

SALMAGUNDI; or, The Whim-Whams and Opinions of LAUNCELOT LANGSTAFF, Esq.

BRACEBRIDGE HALL; or, The Humourists.

ASTORIA; or, Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.

WOLFERT'S ROOST, and Other Tales.

LAMB (*CHARLES*).—

ESSAYS OF ELIA. With a Portrait.

LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA.

ELIANA. With Biographical Sketch.

MARRYAT (*CAPTAIN*).

PIRATE AND THE THREE CUTTERS. With a Memoir of the Author.

The only authorised Edition; no others published in England contain the Derivations and Etymological Notes of Dr. Mahn, who devoted several years to this portion of the Work.

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY

OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Thoroughly revised and improved by CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D.D., LL.D., and NOAH PORTER, D.D., of Yale College.

THE GUINEA DICTIONARY.

New Edition [1880], with a Supplement of upwards of 4600 New Words and Meanings.

1628 Pages. 3000 Illustrations.

The features of this volume, which render it perhaps the most useful Dictionary for general reference extant, as it is undoubtedly one of the cheapest books ever published, are as follows :—

1. COMPLETENESS.—It contains 114,000 words.
2. ACCURACY OF DEFINITION.
3. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL TERMS.
4. ETYMOLOGY.
5. THE ORTHOGRAPHY is based, as far as possible, on Fixed Principles.
6. PRONUNCIATION.
7. THE ILLUSTRATIVE CITATIONS.
8. THE SYNONYMS.
9. THE ILLUSTRATIONS, which exceed 3000.

Cloth, 21*s.*; half-bound in calf, 30*s.*; calf or half russia, 31*s.* 6*d.*; russia, 2*l.*

With New Biographical Appendix, containing over 9700 *Names.*

THE COMPLETE DICTIONARY

Contains, in addition to the above matter, several valuable Literary Appendices, and 70 extra pages of Illustrations, grouped and classified.

1 vol. 1919 pages, cloth, 31*s.* 6*d.*

'Certainly the best practical English Dictionary extant.'—*Quarterly Review*, 1873.

Prospectuses, with Specimen Pages, sent post free on application.

---

* * *To be obtained through all Booksellers.*

BOHN'S SELECT LIBRARY
OF
STANDARD WORKS.

Price 1*s.* in paper covers, and 1*s.* 6*d.* in cloth.

1. BACON'S ESSAYS. With Introduction and Notes.
2. LESSING'S LAOKOON. Beasley's Translation, revised, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by Edward Bell, M.A.
3. DANTE'S INFERNO. Translated, with Notes, by Rev. H. F. Cary.
4. GOETHE'S FAUST. Part I. Translated, with Introduction, by Anna Swanwick.
5. GOETHE'S BOYHOOD. Being Part I. of the Autobiography. Translated by J. Oxenford.
6. SCHILLER'S MARY STUART and THE MAID OF ORLEANS. Translated by J. Mellish and Anna Swanwick.
7. THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH. By the late Dean Alford.
8. LIFE AND LABOURS OF THE LATE THOMAS BRASSEY. By Sir A. Helps, K.C.B.
9. PLATO'S DIALOGUE'S: The Apology—Crito—Phaedo—Protagoras. With Introductions.
10. MOLIÈRE'S PLAYS: The Miser—Tartuffe—The Shopkeeper turned Gentleman. With brief Memoir.
11. GOETHE'S REINEKE FOX, in English Hexameters. By A. Rogers.
12. OLIVER GOLDSMITH'S PLAYS.
13. LESSING'S PLAYS: Nathan the Wise—Minna von Barnhelm.
14. PLAUTUS'S COMEDIES: Trinummus — Menaechmi — Aulularia — Captivi.
15. WATERLOO DAYS. By C. A. Eaton. With Preface and Notes by Edward Bell.
16. DEMOSTHENES—ON THE CROWN. Translated by C. Rann Kennedy.
17. THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.
18. OLIVER CROMWELL. By Dr. Reinhold Pauli.
19. THE PERFECT LIFE. By Dr. Channing. Edited by his nephew, Rev. W. H. Channing.
20. LADIES IN PARLIAMENT, HORACE AT ATHENS, and other pieces, by Sir G. Otto Trevelyan, Bart.

To be followed by

DEFOE'S THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.
IRVING'S LIFE OF MAHOMET.
HORACE'S ODES, by various hands.
SHERIDAN'S PLAYS.
HAUFF'S CARAVAN.
BURKE'S ESSAY ON 'THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL.' With Short Memoir.
HARVEY'S TREATISE ON THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD.

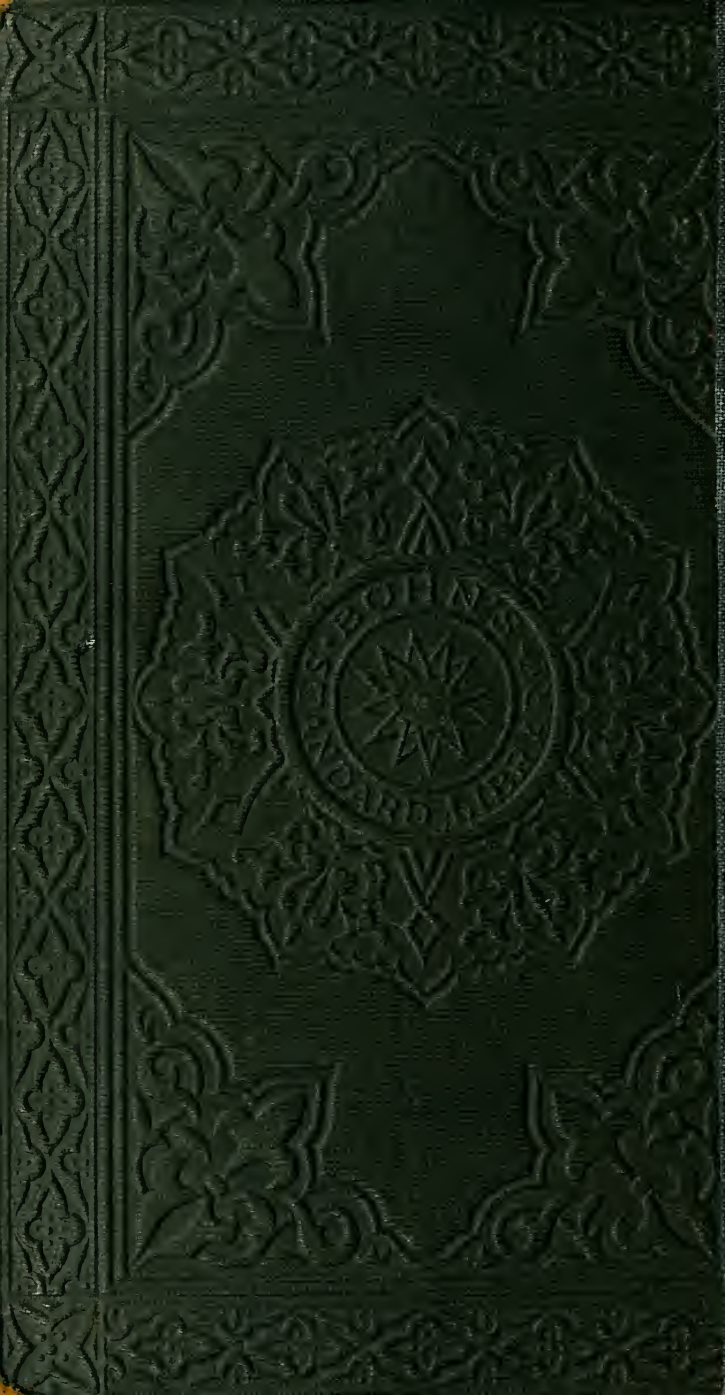
LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS.

London: Printed by STRANGEWAYS & SONS, Tower Street, Cambridge Circus, W.C.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 01082 9739

Date Due

[illegible] 1948			
[illegible]			
JUN [illegible]			
[illegible] 2000			
JUN 3 0 [illegible]			


BOHN'S
STANDARD